Israel / Documents December 1947 — May 1948 COMPANION VOLUME

STATE OF ISRAEL • WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS

DECEMBER 1947 — MAY 1948

COMPANION VOLUME

STATE OF ISRAEL
ISRAEL STATE ARCHIVES

WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION
CENTRAL ZIONIST ARCHIVES

POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS

DECEMBER 1947 – MAY 1948

COMPANION VOLUME

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CONTENTS

Preface	VII
Foreword	XI
Introduction	XV
List of documents	XXV
List of archives and abbreviations in references	XLV
List of publications and abbreviations in references	XLVII
Glossary	LI
Summaries of Hebrew documents	1
Notes	35
Index to main volume and companion volume	159

PREFACE

At the end of 1979 the files of the Israeli Ministry for Foreign Affairs from the years 1948-1949 will become available for inspection. At the same time the Israel State Archives will begin publication of a series of volumes containing selected documents drawn from these records. The present preliminary volume comprises documents covering the period between the adoption of the United Nations resolution on the partition of Palestine, on 29 November 1947, and the proclamation of the State of Israel in May 1948.

Seven years ago I called together a number of historians and political scientists as well as representatives of various government departments in order to discuss a plan for publishing at regular intervals a series of documents on the foreign relations of the State of Israel. Four major questions were taken up at this meeting: 1) Was it advisable to publish state papers as an official undertaking? 2) Who would be responsible for carrying out the project? 3) What criteria should be applied in selecting the documents, what principles ought to be followed in editing them and in what language would they be published? 4) Should the series begin with the establishment of the State of Israel or should an earlier date serve as the starting-point, and if an earlier date — which?

The shape of the volume herewith presented to readers grew out of the suggestions made at the meeting. The participants favoured the publication of state papers soon after their declassification in order to promote responsible use of the declassified files and to guarantee that the historical assessment of Israel's foreign policy would not be based solely on foreign documentary publications.

The series is being edited by a group of historians on the staff of the Israel State Archives. Exclusive responsibility for the selection of the documents and for their annotation rests with this team.

The 510 documents published in this volume were chosen from among approximately 5000 documents which had been selected during the first stage of the work. One of the chief aims was to ensure that the final selection would adequately reflect the problems

which confronted the policy-makers, their reasoning and the decisions they made. Only a few documents, the publication of which might impair the current activities of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, have not been declassified.

Representatives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs read the volume in manuscript and commented on it; only in a few cases did they object to the publication of certain phrases or of entire documents. All these objections had to do with passages which were liable to give offence to individuals. Considerations of this kind led to the rejection of an entire document only when it was possible to illuminate the issue under discussion by means of other documents.

As stated above, it was necessary to decide whether the starting-point of the series should be 14 May, when the State of Israel was proclaimed, or an earlier date. All those who participated in the meeting were of the opinion that a knowledge of the documents dating from the period leading up to statehood was essential to a proper understanding of the early state papers. In view of the continuity of the historical process any date is in a sense arbitrary, but in our opinion the choice of 1 December 1947, immediately following upon the United Nations resolution recommending the establishment of a Jewish state, is amply justified. The resolution created a new situation, both on the political and on the military level: from that day onwards the representatives of the Jewish community in Palestine and of the Jewish Agency regarded themselves and were regarded by others as the spokesmen of a state in the making.

The meeting further recommended that the documents be published in their original languages and in chronological order, and that an English translation of Hebrew documents be appended to the publication. We accepted this recommendation in a slightly amended form: Hebrew, English and French documents will be published in the original languages, all others — in Hebrew translation. (Although the language of most of the documents scheduled for publication in the first volumes is English, the arrangement of the documents in the Main Volume conforms to that of a Hebrew book, i.e., the pagination runs *from right to left*). English summaries of all Hebrew documents, an English translation of the annotation (with the exception of footnotes to Hebrew documents) and a comprehensive English index will be published in companion volumes.

We hope that these additional aids will enable those who do not know Hebrew to make full use of this publication.

I would like to thank the following persons and institutions for their assistance: Mr. Moshe Yuval, formerly Political Adviser and Director of the Documentation and Historical Department in the Israeli Ministry for Foreign Affairs, for his unfailing cooperation and assistance; Dr. Yehiel Ilsar, former Director of the Historical Division of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; Dr. Michael Heymann, Director of the Central Zionist Archives, who read the manuscript, made many valuable suggestions and provided us with much important information ; Prof. Gavriel Cohen and Prof. Yehoshua Porath, who were always willing to answer our numerous questions ; Dr. Eliahu Elath, who contributed both information and documents; Mrs. Shunit Degani, who prepared part of the index and did much of the proof-reading; Mr. Michael Plotkin, who prepared the English summaries of Hebrew documents; Mr. Yaacov Lazarus, for style-editing the English companion volume; Mrs. Hadass Bar Yosef, for the layout design; Mrs. Lea Aldor and Mrs. Lou Kaddar, for their assistance in matters of spelling and translation; Mr. Yaacov Eyal, for translating a document from Arabic into Hebrew; Mrs. Vera Eden, Miss Penelope Kreizer, Miss Bina Peer, Miss Elaine Singer and Mrs. Claude Wallfish, who prepared the typescripts of the documents and annotation.

We are also indebted to the staff of the Central Zionist Archives and especially to the Deputy Director, Mr. Israel Philipp; to the staff of the Israel Military and Defence Establishment Archives and the Bet Berl Archives ; to Mrs. Nehama Chalom, Director of the Weizmann Archives ; to Mr. Pesah Gani of the Jabotinsky Institute; and to all those, in Israel and abroad, who supplied us with biographical information on persons mentioned in the documents.

P. A. ALSBERG
State Archivist

FOREWORD

The documents published in this volume relate mainly to the policy of the Jewish Agency Executive and its Political Department on the eve of the establishment of the State of Israel. However, a number of documents dealing with other matters closely bound up with the conduct of foreign policy have also been included. Among the subjects which fall under this category are the procurement of arms, financial and economic matters, immigration and domestic and party affairs.

The documents have been selected with a view towards providing extensive documentation of deliberations, discussions, the spectrum of opinions and the shaping of foreign policy. Some documents were chosen with the aim of providing coverage to matters which, though of considerable importance at the time, were not part of the main current of foreign policy, e.g., administrative problems resulting from the termination of the Mandatory regime. A few documents have a somewhat fragmentary character due to the lack of fuller documentation. Documents whose main purpose was to supply general background information have been included only when the fact that such information was available to the Jewish Agency and the nature of the information are in themselves of special interest.

The selection of documents for publication was only marginally affected by considerations as to whether or not deliberations on a certain issue led to concrete results. For instance, this volume contains a number of documents dealing with the various drafts of a statute for the international regime of the City of Jerusalem, which was to be established in accordance with the United Nations resolution of 29 November 1947 but in fact never materialized. Nevertheless, this criterion cannot be entirely disregarded and the space devoted to a certain issue must obviously bear some relation to its importance in a historical perspective.

The documents published in this volume derive mainly from the files of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem and its offices abroad as well as from the files of a number of Israeli missions abroad. (The latter, notably those of the New York con-

sulate, contain a considerable number of documents antedating the establishment of the State of Israel). But the search for relevant papers was by no means confined to these records. Important documents absent from the main files were found in the Weizmann Archives, the Ben-Gurion Archives, the Leo Kohn Papers, the files of Eliezer Kaplan's office, etc.

The selection published in this volume consists of telegrams, reports, memoranda, notes, minutes and records of telephone conversations. A few documents contain the text of speeches and addresses.

The documents are arranged chronologically, the only exception being document No. 1, which describes the final stage of the discussion of the Palestine question by the United Nations General Assembly and its committees in November 1947.

The text. The text of the printed documents is identical with the original text except for the following editorial changes and corrections :

a) Addresses of senders and addressees as well as dates in their original form have been deleted. In some of the reports, memoranda and minutes the original headings have also been omitted. The deleted information is incorporated in part in the editorial headings in standard form (see below).

b) A number of passages which have no direct relevance to foreign policy have been omitted, as have a few offensive references to individuals as well as some passages referring to subjects and names which have not been declassified. All omissions are indicated in the body of the text and explained in footnotes.

c) Minor errors have been corrected without comment and without indication in the body of the text.

d) Common abbreviations and abbreviations the meaning of which is not in doubt have been replaced by the full terms without comment and without indication in the body of the text. Abbreviations of proper names and abbreviations employed for reasons of secrecy have been expanded to full form in square brackets. However, abbreviations commonly pronounced as such and acronyms (e.g., U.N., UNO) have not be altered.

e) Missing words have in some cases been added, either conjecturally (within square brackets and preceded by a question mark) or on the basis of a corresponding text of the same document (within square brackets and with an explanation in a footnote).

f) English spelling has been standardized to conform with British usage except in documents originating in American institutions or written by Americans.
g) Faulty punctuation has been corrected. Punctuation words used in telegrams (e.g., *stop, comma*) have been replaced by punctuation marks, and the words *quote* and *unquote* — by quotation marks.
h) Latin prepositions used in telegrams transmitted through the Palcor news agency have been replaced by their English equivalents.
i) The outgoing text of telegrams has been used when extant. In cases of faulty deciphering in the incoming text (revealed through comparison with the outgoing text), the wrongly deciphered or missing words are identified by oblique strokes.
j) Documents written in Arabic are published in Hebrew translation.

Dates of telegrams. In some cases there is a difference of one day between the dates of outgoing and incoming texts. The two dates obviously represent, respectively, the day on which the telegram was drafted and the day of its despatch. The location of these telegrams in the chronological sequence of documents was determined on the basis of the earlier date. When known, the dates of despatch and receipt and the hour of despatch are noted in the heading. (For an English translation of this part of the headings see the list of documents in the the Companion Volume.)

Dates of reports on discussions and meetings. These reports are arranged chronologically in accordance with the date of writing, when known. When the date of writing is not known, the chronological location of the report in question was determined on the basis of the date of the meeting. (The latter date always appears in the main editorial heading).

Editorial headings. The heading includes, *inter alia,* the file reference of the document. References to files of the Israel State Archives give only the reference numbers of the record group, the series, the box and the file. References to files of other archival institutions carry the full or abbreviated name of the institution. (See list of archives and abbreviations in references in the Companion Volume).

The destination of a document is noted in the editorial heading except when the document is addressed to the Executive of the Jewish Agency in Palestine, its members or members of the Agency's

staff. The place from which the document was sent and its date are printed in standard form at the head of the text.

Editorial notes provide information on important events or developments. They usually precede the earliest document which includes a reference to the subject. The text of several resolutions adopted by the Security Council and of draft resolutions submitted to it are reproduced in the editorial notes.

Footnotes. The annotation consists mainly of numbered footnotes. The main purpose of the footnotes is to elucidate the text where necessary and to call attention to other relevant documents. There are a few references to documents and files which have not yet been declassified but will eventually become available to researchers.

Biographical footnotes have been provided where necessary for a proper understanding of the text. Information on most persons mentioned in the documents is included in the index. The index does not provide information on persons mentioned only in the annotation.

Appendices. There are two appendices: a) The resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations of 29 November 1947 concerning the partition of Palestine. b) Drafts of articles of truce for Palestine drawn up by the United States Department of State in April–May 1948.

Maps. In order to facilitate the location of places and areas mentioned in this volume, two maps are provided: a map of Palestine before the establishment of the State of Israel and a map of Jerusalem. The partition boundaries according to the United Nations resolution of 29 November 1947 are delineated on the map of Palestine.

INTRODUCTION

This volume comprises a selection of 510 documents covering the period following the adoption by the United Nations General Assembly, on 29 November 1947, of a resolution recommending the partition of Palestine between Jews and Arabs, and ending with the establishment of the State of Israel and the invasion of the country by the armies of several Arab states.

On 2 April 1947 the representative of the United Kingdom at the United Nations requested that the question of Palestine be placed on the agenda of the next (second) session of the General Assembly and that in preparation for the discussion at that session, a special session of the Assembly be convened for the purpose of setting up a committee to examine the question of Palestine.

The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), which was appointed by the General Assembly at its First Special Session, failed to achieve unanimity with regard to its main recommendations and submitted two separate series of proposals. The majority report recommended the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states, to be associated in an economic union, and the establishment of an international regime for the City of Jerusalem. The minority recommended the establishment of a federal Palestinian state. The majority proposals and a proposal by several Arab states for the establishment of a unitary state in Palestine were discussed by an ad hoc committee of the General Assembly, which recommended an amended plan of partition. The amended plan was adopted by the General Assembly on 29 November 1947.

According to the resolution, the British Mandate for Palestine was to terminate and the evacuation of British forces from the country was to be completed as soon as possible but not later than 1 August 1948. The Arab and Jewish states and the international regime for the City of Jerusalem were to come into existence two months after the evacuation but not later than 1 October

1948. Responsibility for the actual implementation of the resolution was to be entrusted to a commission of five — the United Nations Palestine Commission (also known as the "Implementation Commission"). The Mandatory Power was asked to turn over the administration of Palestine in stages to the Commission. The latter was to establish Provisional Councils of Government for the two states and to instruct them to proceed to the establishment of administrative organs of government. During the transitional period (between the adoption of the resolution by the General Assembly and the establishment of the independence of the two states) the Provisional Councils of Government, acting under the Palestine Commission and subject to the provisions of the resolution, were to have full authority in the areas under their control, including authority over matters of immigration and land regulation.

In the course of the General Assembly's discussions it had been suggested that an international force should be established in order to ensure the effective implementation of the partition plan, but no provisions to that effect were included in the resolution. The resolution nevertheless provided for the establishment of armed militias by the Provisional Councils of Government, under the general control of the United Nations Palestine Commission.

The General Assembly requested the Security Council to assume certain responsibilities. The Council was asked to "take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for its implementation." Furthermore, the General Assembly requested that if during the transitional period the Council decided that the situation in Palsetine constituted a threat to the peace, it should supplement the authorization of the General Assembly by empowering the Palestine Commission to exercise the functions assigned to it. The Security Council was also asked to "to determine as a threat to the pease, breach of the peace or act of aggression, in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter", any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by the General Assembly's resolution.

The Jewish Agency accepted the partition plan because it was considered to be the best solution which could be obtained under prevailing circumstances. The drawbacks of the plan, from the Jewish point of view, were obvious: it meant that the Jews would have to relinquish their claim to the whole of Palestine and that Jerusalem would be excluded from the area of the Jewish state. The partition boundaries laid down in the United Nations

resolution were tortuous and difficult to defend. The Jewish state would, in fact, have been split into three regions tenuously connected at "points of intersection". But in view of the prospect of obtaining international agreement for the establishment of a sovereign Jewish state, it was decided to go along with the partition solution and to work for its adoption by the General Assembly.

This objective was achieved when the General Assembly resolved, by a majority of thirty-three against thirteen with ten abstentions, to adopt the partition plan. The majority included three out of the five permanent members of the Security Council (France, the Soviet Union and the United States), while the two others (China and the United Kingdom) abstained.

The adoption of the partition plan did not mean that all difficulties had been resolved and that the Jewish Agency could relax its political efforts. The Arab states, united in the Arab League, held that the United Nations had no authority to decree the partition of Palestine and threatened to oppose implementation by force. A few days after the adoption of the resolution the security situation in Palestine began to deteriorate as a result of Arab acts of terrorism and attacks against Jewish settlements and urban areas and against Jewish transport. The Arab threat to invade Palestine upon the termination of the Mandate placed in jeopardy not only the successful implementation of the United Nations resolution but the very survival of the Jews of Palestine.

The British Government had announced beforehand that it would take no part in the implementation of any plan which did not meet with the approval of both Arabs and Jews. It insisted that the Palestine Commission postpone its arrival in Palestine until shortly before the termination of the Mandate (scheduled for 15 May, according to the decision of the British Government), thereby effectively nullifying the provision for a gradual transfer of authority to the Commission and to the Provisional Councils of Government which were to be established during the transitional period. The British also refused to comply with the General Assembly's request for the evacuation of a seaport by 1 February 1948 in order to facilitate Jewish immigration.

From the start, the Jewish Agency had to reckon with the possibility of a change in the attitude of the United States. The American decision to support partition had been taken in the

face of widespread opposition in the State Department and despite the adverse opinion of the Secretary of Defence, James Forrestal. As the situation in Palestine deteriorated and the feeling grew that the ability of the Jews of Palestine to defend themselves had been overrated, this opposition intensified. The erosion in American support for partition climaxed in the proposal to place Palestine under a provisional United Nations trusteeship, which the United States representative announced at the Security Council meeting on 19 March.

A measure of ambiguity was also apparent in the policy of France with regard to partition. Along with expressions of encouragement and sympathy for the Jewish cause there were signs that French support for partition might not endure. Indeed, after 19 March it seemed that the Americans could count on French support at the United Nations for their trusteeship plan.

The Soviet Union, alone among the great powers, gave unwavering support to the partition plan and insisted that it be carried out in strict compliance with the General Assembly's resolution.

This complex and fluid situation constituted the background against which the struggle for the implementation of the partition resolution and the establishment of the Jewish state was waged between December 1947 and May 1948. While armed clashes in Palestine were gradually assuming the character of a full-scale military confrontation, the Jewish Agency redoubled its political efforts in the international arena, especially in the United States — in New York, Lake Success and Washington. Moshe Shertok, head of the Jewish Agency's Political Department, remained in the United States after the conclusion of the session of the General Assembly and, except for a short visit in January, did not return to Palestine until 8 May 1948. From his post in New York he directed political activities, reporting to the Jewish Agency Executive in Palestine and its chairman, David Ben-Gurion, to the Political Department in Jerusalem and to the American Section of the Executive under the chairmanship of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver. Supreme political authority was vested in the Palestine Executive; but the American Section, which had the advantage of close proximity to the centres of political activity, also held frequent meetings, at which new developments were reported on

and discussed. Occasionally it acted on questions which required an immediate decision.

While the British Mandatory administration was being gradually dismantled, the Jewish community in Palestine rapidly adapted its institutions to the requirements of self-rule and independence. The Jewish Agency Executive and the Executive of the Va'ad Le'umi (General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine) functioned as the supreme executive bodies until April 1948, when a National Administration and a National Council were set up. A special Emergency Committee, with Ze'ev Sharef as Secretary, had already been formed in November 1947 and was entrusted with responsibility for dealing with the exigencies of the transition period and for creating the administrative machinery of the Jewish state.

At the same time Tel Aviv replaced Jerusalem as the centre of Jewish self-rule and administration, and from the middle of December 1947 the Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive resided there.

The Political Department and most of its staff remained in Jerusalem. At first, during the months of December and January, the major part of its activity was directed towards maintaining contacts with officials of the Mandatory administration in Jerusalem. The Political Department was represented at these discussions by the head of the Department in Jerusalem, Golda Meyerson (Meir), up to her departure for a fund-raising campaign in the United States; Leo Kohn, the Political Secretary of the Jewish Agency; Haim Berman (Raday), the Secretary of the Political Department; and Walter Eytan. The chief aim of these contacts was to move senior officials of the Palestine Government to take resolute action, in line with the British Government's declaration that it alone would bear the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in Palestine until the end of the Mandate. The Jewish side was particularly concerned about security conditions along the Jerusalem–Tel Aviv road and the safety of the Jewish quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem. The Political Department sought to discourage the British from supporting — either actively or passively — the escalating warfare which was being waged against the Jews by Palestinian Arabs and by the Arab Army of Liberation, the units of which began to infiltrate into Palestine in January 1948, setting up military bases inside the country.

The representatives of the Political Department protested against the presence of units of the Arab Legion in Palestine and demanded their removal to Transjordan. They also endeavoured to secure the orderly transfer to the Jewish authorities of the administration in the territory of the future Jewish state, in conjunction with the United Nations Palestine Commission. Another subject which figured prominently in these discussions was the fate of the Jewish immigrants detained in Cyprus.

The discussions carried on with British officials were naturally overshadowed by the charged atmosphere produced by Arab attacks, by counter-raids of the Haganah, the I.Z.L. and the Lehi, by the campaign waged mainly by the Lehi against British security personnel and installations, by the Arab siege of the Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, and by the looming threat of invasion by armies of the Arab states. In view of this potentially mortal danger, the Jewish side considered it vital to make every effort to prevent British interference with Jewish defence efforts and preparations, and with the effective deployment of Jewish forces in anticipation of an onslaught by regular troops.

Relations with King Abdallah of Transjordan constituted another major issue which engaged the close attention of the Political Department and particularly its Arab Section, headed by Eliahu (Elias) Sasson. In November 1947 the King met with Golda Meyerson and two other representatives of the Jewish Agency. The drift of the discussion pointed to the possibility of an agreement according to which the Arab Legion would occupy the Arab part of Palestine but refrain from an attack on the emerging Jewish state. For several weeks the Jewish Agency continued to negotiate with representatives of the King, but contacts between the parties fizzled out and the King took up a more militant stance. A further meeting, which took place a few days before the proclamation of the State of Israel, proved abortive.

The Political Department was also in frequent communication with the three foreign consuls in Jerusalem whose countries — Belgium, France and the United States — were members of the Security Council. Later on, the three consuls constituted the Palestine Truce Commission set up by the Security Council in April 1948. Various circumstances combined to prevent the Commission from fully carrying out the functions assigned to it and

it had to confine its activities to Jerusalem, where it attempted to bring about a local cease-fire.

During the transition period between December and May the status and importance of the Political Department gradually declined as a result of a number of factors — the transfer of the centre of the Jewish administration to Tel Aviv, the absence of the Department heads — Moshe Shertok and Golda Meyerson — and the isolation of Jewish Jerusalem caused by the increasingly effective Arab siege. Moreover, as a result of the gradual evacuation of the country by the British and the winding-up of the Mandatory administration, contacts with British government officials in Jerusalem lost much of their former importance.

After February, the principal business of the Political Department narrowed to dealing with the Advance Party of the United Nations Palestine Commission, which arrived in the country at the beginning of March, and later with the Security Council Truce Commission.

Yet it seems that it was precisely this diminution in the tasks and responsibilities of the Political Department that enabled several of its senior officials in beleaguered Jerusalem to devote time and thought to long-term considerations and to formulate plans for future policy, especially with regard to relations between the Jewish state and its Arab neighbours. Some of the ideas which emerged from these discussions were written up in a number of memoranda and reports which appear in this volume.

The Political Department was represented abroad by the Jewish Agency offices in New York, Washington, London and Paris. The New York Office, headed by Arthur Lourie, handled Political affairs at the United Nations and assisted the Jewish Agency delegation at Lake Success. The scope of its responsibilities also encompassed public relations and liaison with local Jewish and Zionist leaders, in conjunction with the American Zionist Emergency Council. The Washington office, headed by Eliahu Epstein (Elath), handled relations with the State Department, with various government circles, and with foreign diplomatic representatives in the capital.

During the weeks following the adoption of the resolution of 29 November the principal objectives of the Jewish Agency's political efforts in the United States were: to guarantee the continuation of American support for partition; to ensure that the Security Council accept the responsibilities assigned to it by the

terms of the General Assembly's resolution; to prevail upon the United Nations Palestine Commission to carry out its duties as defined in the resolution, particularly with regard to the establishment of a Provisional Council of Government for the Jewish State; to bring about the formation of a Jewish militia as laid down in the resolution; and to convince the State Department of the injustice of an arms embargo applied indiscriminately to both the aggressor and the victim of aggression in the Middle East. Suggestions were also advanced regarding the formation of an international military force. Such a force, it was hoped, would be able to deter the neighbouring countries from intervening in Palestine or at least could take charge of the defence of Jerusalem.

Representatives of the Jewish Agency were also keeping in close touch with the Trusteeship Council's Working Committee on Jerusalem, which was preparing a statute for the City's international regime. Their main concern was to ensure that no system of elections to the proposed Legislative Council of the City be approved which might lead to a permanent anti-Jewish majority on that body.

After 19 March 1948 policy in the United States had to be adjusted to meet the new set of circumstances. The Jewish representatives sought to prevent the acceptance of the American trusteeship plan and at the same time conducted intensive negotiations with the State Department with regard to the latter's proposals for a truce in Palestine, which, if adopted, would have prevented the Jews from proclaiming their state on 15 May. The final draft of the truce proposals was discussed by the Jewish National Administration in Palestine on 12 May but was not accepted.

Apart from the Immigration Bureau in Warsaw, the Jewish Agency had no offices in East European countries. Consequently, contacts with the governments of these countries were ordinarily maintained through their diplomatic representatives at the United Nations and in Washington. Of particular importance were the occasional meetings with Andrei Gromyko, the permanent representative of the Soviet Union at the United Nations.

The Jewish Agency also maintained permanent offices in London and Paris. Responsibility for political activity in Great Britain was in the hands of two resident members of the Jewish Agency Executive — Selig Brodetsky and Berl Locker; the Political Secretary of the London Office, Ivor J. Linton, was provisionally

attached to the New York Office in January 1948. Discussions with British Colonial and Foreign Office officials revolved around the current situation in Palestine and largely paralleled the contacts maintained by the Political Department with British officials in Jerusalem.

The Paris Office was, from December 1947 onwards, under the direction of the Political Secretary, Maurice Fischer, who kept abreast of and tried to influence the latest policy trends in the French Cabinet and at the Quai d'Orsay.

The reader should bear in mind that the political activity of the Jewish Agency during the months preceding the establishment of the State of Israel, though of considerable importance, was essentially supportive. The decisive arena at that stage was the military rather than the political. The march of events which began with sporadic Arab attacks in December 1947 gradually led to widespread hostilities. In April 1948, following the arrival of the first consignment of arms purchased in Czechoslovakia, the Haganah launched a series of military operations which brought the Jews control over large areas of Palestine and temporarily broke the siege of Jewish Jerusalem. Had the Jewish forces failed to repulse the Arab attacks, the political effort would have been in vain and the State of Israel would not have come into being.

GEDALIA YOGEV

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

CZA	Central Zionist Archives
Inc.	Incoming text
Orig.	Original
Outg.	Outgoing text
Recd.	Received
Tel.	Telegram

Note. References which do not include the name of the archives are to documents in possession of the Israel State Archives.

1947

1. 3 Dec **M. Comay to B. Gering.** Copy. 93.03/2266/15.

2. 1 Dec **Meeting: D. Ben-Gurion — Sir Alan Cunningham.** Report. Ben-Gurion Archives 94. (Hebrew).

3. 1 Dec **A.H. Silver to President Truman.** Tel.; Outg. CZA Z5/456III.

4. 1 Dec **M. Fischer to G. Bonneau.** Copy. 93.02/183/2.

5. 1 Dec **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 83/62; Outg. CZA S25/1700; Inc. 93.01/2180/4.

6. 1 Dec **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2180/5; Inc. CZA S25/1700.

7. 3 Dec **Meeting: I. Ben-Zvi, M. Eliash — Sir Henry Gurney.** Report. CZA 525/7725.

8. 3 Dec **D. Ben-Gurion: Speech at meeting of Executive Committee of General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine.** Ben-Gurion Archives 94. (Hebrew).

9. 4 Dec **A. H. Silver to A. Gromyko.** Copy. 93.03/2268/16.

10. 4 Dec **M. Shertok to G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 50/–; Outg. 93.01/2180/5; Inc. CZA S25/1700.

11. 4 Dec **M. Shertok to G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 48/–; Outg. 93.01/2180/5; Inc. CZA S25/1700.

12. 4 Dec **D. Ben-Gurion to members of the Agricultural Centre.** Copy. Ben-Gurion Archives 1497. (Hebrew).

13. 4 Dec **R. Zaslani to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 84/133; Outg. CZA S44/716; Inc. 93.01/2180/4.

14. 5 Dec **E. Sasson to A. Azzam Pasha.** Copy. CZA S44/708.

15. 5 Dec **G. Meyerson to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 87/223; Outg. CZA S25/1700; Inc. 93.01/2180/4.

16. 5 Dec **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 86/21; Outg. CZA S25/1700; Inc. 93.01/2180/4.

1947

17. 6 Dec **D. Rusk to L. Gelber.** Orig. CZA Z5/456III.

18. 6 Dec **M. Shertok to I. J. Linton.** Coded Tel.; Sent 7 Dec.; Outg. 93.01/2180/5; Inc. (Jerusalem): CZA S25/1700.

19. 7 Dec **E. Sasson to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 91/–; Outg. CZA S25/1700; Inc. 93.01/2180/4.

20. 7 Dec **G. Meyerson to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 92/94; Sent 8 Dec.; Outg. CZA S25/1700; Inc. 93.01/2180/4.

21. 8 Dec **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 95/155; Sent 9 Dec.; Outg. CZA S25/1700; Inc. 93.01/2180/4.

22. 8 Dec **D. Ben-Gurion to Sir Alan Cunningham.** Copy. CZA S25/5583.

23. 8 Dec **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 96/33; Outg. CZA S25/1700; Inc. 93.01/2180/4.

24. 8 Dec **A. Eban to I. J. Linton.** Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2206/10.

25. 9 Dec **Sir Henry Gurney to D. Ben-Gurion.** Copy. CZA S25/5583.

26. 9 Dec **C. Weizmann to President Truman.** Copy. Weizmann Archives.

27. 9 Dec **D. Ben-Gurion to I. J. Linton.** Coded Tel. 5/–; Outg. CZA S25/1700.

28. 9 Dec **M. Shertok to G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 57/–; Outg. 93.01/2180/5; Inc. CZA S25/1700.

29. 9 Dec **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 100/62; Outg. CZA S25/1700; Inc. 93.01/2180/6.

30. 9 Dec **I. J. Linton to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 2/–; Inc. CZA S25/1700.

31. 10 Dec **Y. Shimoni to G. Meyerson.** Copy. Ben-Gurion Archives 5. (Hebrew).

32. 10 Dec **I. Galili to R. Zaslani.** Copy. CZA S25/5583. (Hebrew).

33. 10 Dec **G. Meyerson to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 1/23; Inc. 93.01/2180/4.

34. 11 Dec **M. Shertok to G. Meyerson.** Tel.; Recd. 12 Dec.; Outg. 93.03/2267/4; Inc. CZA S25/1584.

35. 11 Dec **E. Sasson to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 2/55; Outg. CZA S25/1700; Inc. 93.01/2180/5.

36. 11 Dec **A. Eban to I. J. Linton.** Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2206/10.

37. 11 Dec **M. Shertok to G. Meyerson.** Tel.; Recd. 12 Dec.; Outg. 93.01/2206/10; Inc. CZA S25/5353.

38. 11 Dec **A. Lourie to T. Lie.** Copy. 93.03/2269/5.

39. 11 Dec **E. Epstein to Y. Klinow.** Orig. 93.02/184/9.

40. 12 Dec **Memorandum for Judith Epstein.** Copy. 93.03/128/14.

41. 12 Dec **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2180/5; Inc. CZA S25/1700.

42. 12 Dec **L. Gelber to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Stencilled Memorandum. 93.03/93/6.

43. 12 Dec **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel.; Sent 13 Dec.; Outg. 93.01/2180/5; Inc. CZA S25/1700.

44. 12 Dec **M. Shertok to N. Armour.** Copy. CZA S25/1584.

1947

45. 14 Dec **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Copy. Ben-Gurion Archives 1497. (Hebrew).

46. 15 Dec **M. Shertok to G. Meyerson.** Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2206/10.

47. 15 Dec **M. Shertok to G. Meyerson.** Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2206/10.

48. 15 Dec **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 68/–; Outg. 93.01/2180/5; Inc. CZA S25/1700.

49. 16 Dec **A. Eban to Z. Sharef.** Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2206/10; Inc. CZA S25/1700.

50. 16 Dec **A. Eban to the Jewish Agency Executive.** Stencilled Memorandum. 93.03/2266/38.

51. 16 Dec **A. Eban to M. Fischer.** Copy. 93.03/2266/38.

52. 16 Dec **A. Eban to I. J. Linton.** Copy. Weizmann Archives.

53. 16 Dec **Meeting: I. J. Linton — T. Smith.** Report. CZA S25/7567.

54. 16 Dec **Meeting: I. J. Linton — J. M. Martin.** Report. CZA S25/7567.

55. 16 Dec **M. Fischer to M. Sneh.** Coded Tel. 1/–; Inc. CZA S25/1700.

56. 16 Dec **G. Meyerson to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 16/167; Outg. CZA S25/1700; Inc. 93.01/2180/5.

57. 16 Dec **Y. Klinow to M. Sneh.** Copy. 93.02/184/9. (Hebrew).

58. 17 Dec **The Mosad le-Aliya to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 23/89; Inc. 93.01/2180/4.

59. 17 Dec **Meeting: G. Meyerson — Sir Alan Cunningham.** Report. CZA S25/22. (Hebrew).

60. 17 Dec **G. Meyerson to Sir Alan Cunningham.** Copy. CZA S25/22.

61. 18 Dec **N. Goldmann to M. Shertok.** Copy. Weizmann Archives.

62. 18 Dec **H. Berman to G. Meyerson.** Orig CZA S25/6661. (Hebrew).

63. 19 Dec **H. Berman to G. Meyerson.** Orig. CZA S25/6595. (Hebrew).

64. 20 Dec **The Jewish Agency Executive in Palestine to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. J416N/97; Outg. S25/1700; Inc. 93.01/2180/6.

65. 20 Dec **E. Sasson to M. Shertok.** Cabled Report; Inc. 93.01/2267/26.

66. 21 Dec **A. Eban to M. Shertok.** Copy. 93.03/2268/21. (Hebrew).

67. 22 Dec **E. Ueberall to M. Shertok.** Tel.; Inc. 93.01/2206/11.

68. 22 Dec **G. Meyerson to M. Shertok and E. Kaplan.** Coded Tel. 28/27; Outg. CZA S25/1700; Inc. 93.01/2180/4.

69. 22 Dec **E. Kaplan to W. Thorp.** Copy. CZA S53/1765.

70. 23 Dec **Meeting: Representatives of the Jewish Agency — Secretary of State for the Colonies and Colonial Office staff.** Report. 93.03/2266/32.

71. 23 Dec **G. Meyerson to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 30/55; Outg. CZA S25/1700; Inc. 93.01/2180/4.

72. 23 Dec **S. Z. Shragai to G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 13/–; Inc. CZA S25/1700.

73. 23 Dec **I. J. Linton to G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 12/–; Inc. CZA S25/1700.

74. 24 Dec **M. Shertok to E. Ueberall.** Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2206/12.

75. 24 Dec **M. Shertok: Aide-Mémoire for F. D. Roosevelt Jr.** Copy. 93.03/2268/21.

76. 24 Dec **M. Fischer to M. Sneh.** Coded Tel. 9/–; Inc. CZA S25/1700.

1947

77. 25 Dec **C. Weizmann to the Jewish Agency Executive in Palestine.** Coded Tel. 17/–; Inc. CZA S25/1700.

78. 25 Dec **U. Heydt to H. Berman.** Orig. CZA S25/6648.

79. 26 Dec **Memorandum by the Jewish Agency.** Memorandum. CZA S25/5176.

80. 26 Dec **G. Meyerson to M. Shertok and E. Kaplan.** Coded Tels. 34/–, 13/–; Outg. CZA S25/1700.

81. 26 Dec **Meeting: M. Shertok — A. Sobolev.** Report. 93.03/2268/16.

82. 26 Dec **M. Shertok to N. Armour.** Copy. 93.03/2269/29.

83. 27 Dec **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. J420N/189; Outg. CZA S25/1700; Inc. 93.01/2180/6.

84. 30 Dec **A. Eban to I. J. Linton.** Copy. 93.03/2266/38.

85. 31 Dec **Meeting: G. Meyerson — Sir Henry Gurney.** Report. CZA S25/7725. (Hebrew).

86. 31 Dec **D. Ben-Gurion: Report of D. Horowitz.** Report. Ben-Gurion Archives. (Hebrew).

1948

87. 2 Jan **E. Epstein to L. Shultz.** Copy. 93.03/129/10.

88. 3 Jan **A. Lourie to I. J. Linton.** Copy. 93.03/127/8.

89. 4 Jan **U. Heydt to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 25/–; Inc. CZA S25/1701.

90. 4 Jan **E. Danin to E. Sasson.** Copy. CZA S25/4050, (Hebrew).

91. 5 Jan **A. Eban to I. J. Linton.** Tel.; Outg. 93.03/127/8.

92. 5 Jan **A. Lourie to M. Fischer.** Copy. 93.03/128/10.

93. 6 Jan **L. Sack to B. Akzin.** Copy. CZA Z5/409I.

94. 6 Jan **To A. Lourie.** Coded Tel. J424/N/44; Outg. CZA S25/1701; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

95. 7 Jan **E. Epstein and A. Eban to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. Elath Papers; CZA S25/5354.

96. 7 Jan **E. Epstein to G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 29/–; Outg. 93.01/2180/23; Inc. CZA S25/1701.

97. 7 Jan **M. Fischer to A. Eban.** Orig. 93.03/128/10.

98. 8 Jan **Meeting: M. Eliash — B. Gerig.** Report. 93.03/128/14.

99. 9 Jan **H. Berman to R. Zaslani.** Orig. CZA S25/6669. (Hebrew).

100. 11 Jan **E. Sasson to King Abdallah.** Original Hebrew text; Copy. CZA S25/9038. (Hebrew).

101. 12 Jan **Meeting: I. J. Linton — G. L. Jones.** Report. CZA S25/6624.

102. 12 Jan **Meeting: I. J. Linton — J. M. Martin, W. A. C. Mathieson.** Report. 93.03/126/2.

103. 13 Jan **G. Meyerson to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 49/54; Sent 14 Jan.; Outg. CZA S25/1701; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

104. 13 Jan **Meeting: L. Kohn — W. Porter.** Report. CZA S25/6622.

105. 13 Jan **E. Sasson to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 50/155; Sent 14 Jan.; Outg. CZA S25/1701; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

106. 13 Jan **M. Shertok to G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 4/37; Sent 14 Jan.; Outg. 93.01/2180/12; Inc. CZA S25/1701.

1948

107. 14 Jan **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion and E. Kaplan.** Coded Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2180/23.

108. 14 Jan **S.U. Nahon to the Jewish Agency Executive (Political Department).** Orig. CZA S25/6603.

109. 15 Jan **Meeting: B. Locker — G.L. Jones.** Report. 93.03/126/2.

110. 15 Jan **M. Shertok: Address at meeting of United Nations Palestine Commission.** Minutes. 130.02/2380/5; U.N. Document A/AC.21/SR.8.

111. 16 Jan **V. Fox-Strangways to G. Meyerson.** Orig. CZA S25/7725.

112. 16 Jan **L. Gelber to M. Shertok.** Note. 93.03/127/1.

113. 17 Jan **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. F72/P/105; Outg. 93.01/2180/23.

114. 18 Jan **Meeting: B. Locker — A. Creech Jones.** Report. 93.03/126/2.

115. 19 Jan **E. Sasson to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 56/107; Sent 20 Jan.; Outg. CZA S25/1701; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

116. 19 Jan **E. Epstein to G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 137/–; Outg. Elath Papers; Inc. CZA S25/1701.

117. 19 Jan **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2180/23.

118. 19 Jan **I.J. Linton to B. Locker.** Copy. Weizmann Archives.

119. 19 Jan **I. Goldstein to members of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. 93.03/85/20.

120. 19 Jan **E. Epstein to R.S. Marcus.** Copy. CZA Z6/4/5.

121. 19 Jan **E. Epstein to G. Meyerson.** Tel.; Inc. 68/577/36.

122. 19 Jan **W. Eytan to M. Shertok.** Orig. 93.03/126/9.

123. 20 Jan **M. Shertok to Chairman of United Nations Palestine Commission.** Stencilled Copy. 93.03/94/7.

124. 20 Jan **A. Eban to M. Fischer.** Copy. 93.03/128/10.

125. 20 Jan **M. Fischer to H. Berman.** Coded Tel. 20/–; Sent 21 Jan.; Inc. CZA S25/1701.

126. 20 Jan **M. Fischer to M. Shertok, E. Epstein, H. Berman, I.J. Linton.** Note. 93.03/128/10.

127. 20 Jan **Minutes: Meeting of members of the Jewish Agency Executive and of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland.** Minutes. Weizmann Archives.

128. 20 Jan **I.J. Linton to B. Locker.** Coded Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2180/23.

129. 21 Jan **M. Shertok to Chairman of United Nations Palestine Commission.** Copy. 93.03/94/7; CZA S25/4354.

130. 21 Jan **A.H. Silver to A. Lourie.** Coded Tel. 61/95; Sent 22 Jan.; Outg. CZA S25/1701; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

131. 21 Jan **Memorandum by B. Akzin.** Memorandum. 93.03/70/9.

132. 21 Jan **G. Ruffer to M. Shertok.** Memorandum. 93.03/128/4.

133. 23 Jan **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. J308L/62; Outg. CZA S25/1701; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

134. 23 Jan **B. Akzin to S. Welles.** Copy. 93.03/66/4.

135. 23 Jan **N. Goldmann to M. Fischer.** Copy. CZA Z6/4/3.

136. 25 Jan **I.J. Linton to S. Brodetsky.** Copy. Weizmann Archives.

1948

137. 25 Jan **B. Locker to the Jewish Agency Office, New York.** Coded Tel. 36/116L4A; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

138. 26 Jan **G. Hirsch to M. Yuval.** Copy. CZA S25/495.

139. 26 Jan **Meeting: Rabbi I. Halevi Herzog — Sir Henry Gurney.** Report. CZA S25/7725. (Hebrew).

140. 26 Jan **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2180/23; Inc. CZA S53/226.

141. 26 Jan **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Outg. 93.03/128/1.

142. 26 Jan **Meeting: A. L. Easterman — H. McNeil.** Report. CZA Z6/17/21.

143. 27 Jan **Meeting: A. H. Silver — Sir Alan Cunningham.** Report. CZA S25/22.

144. 27 Jan **E. Sasson to G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 67/188; Sent 28 Jan.; Outg. CZA S25/1701; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

145. 27 Jan **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2180/23.

146. 27 Jan **E. Epstein to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel.; Outg. Elath Papers; Inc. CZA S25/1701.

147. 27 Jan **J. Robinson to A. Lourie.** Memorandum. 93.03/129/11.

148. 27 Jan **M. Fischer to N. Goldmann.** Orig. CZA Z6/4/3.

149. 28 Jan **Meeting: R. Rosenberg — V. Fox-Strangways.** Report. CZA S25/7725. (Hebrew).

150. 28 Jan **Meeting: L. Kohn — W. Porter.** Report. 68/576/35.

151. 28 Jan **E. Epstein to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Outg. Elath Papers, file "Secret telegrams"; Inc. CZA S25/1701.

152. 28 Jan **L. Gelber to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. 93.03/127/1.

153. 29 Jan **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. J311L/25; Sent 30 Jan.; Outg. CZA S25/1701; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

154. 29 Jan **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel.; Recd. 30 Jan.; Outg. 93.01/2180/23; Inc. CZA S25/1701.

155. 29 Jan **M. Kahany to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. CZA Z5/422.

156. 29 Jan **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel.; Sent 30 Jan.; Outg. 93.01/2180/23; Inc. CZA S25/1701.

157. 29 Jan **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel.; Sent 30 Jan.; Outg. 93.01/2180/23; Inc. CZA S25/1701.

158. 29 Jan **L. Gelber to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. 93.03/127/1.

159. 29 Jan **O. Gass to E. Kaplan.** Coded Tel. 143/–; Sent 30 Jan.; Outg. Elath Papers; Inc. CZA S25/1701.

160. 30 Jan **M. Shertok to R. Zaslani and Z. Sharef.** Tel.; Recd. 31 Jan.; Outg. 93.03/88/15; Inc. CZA S25/7732.

161. 30 Jan **M. Shertok to R. Zaslani and Z. Sharef.** Coded Tel.; Sent 31 Jan.; Outg. 93.01/2180/23; Inc. CZA S25/7732.

162. 30 Jan **Memorandum by Jewish Agency Office, New York.** Memorandum. 93.03/126/4.

1948

163. 30 Jan **Meeting: A. L. Easterman — H. McNeil.** Report. CZA Z6/17/21.

164. 1 Feb **E. Epstein to the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem.** Coded Tel. 144/–; Inc. CZA S25/1702.

165. 2 Feb **N. Goldmann to P. H. Spaak.** Copy. CZA Z6/3/13.

166. 2 Feb **M. Fischer to A. Eban.** Orig. 93.03/128/10.

167. 2 Feb **U. Heydt to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 39/29; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

168. 2 Feb **Memorandum by B. Akzin.** Memorandum. 93.03/70/9.

169. 3 Feb **L. Gelber to M. Shertok and N. Goldmann.** Copy. CZA Z6/4/5.

170. 3 Feb **Memorandum by B. Akzin.** Memorandum. 93.03/70/9.

171. 4 Feb **E. Epstein to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 146/–; Outg. Elath Papers; Inc. CZA S25/1702.

172. 4 Feb **E. Epstein to G. Marshall.** Copy. 93.03/126/7.

173. 4 Feb **Consultation of Jewish Agency staff and advisers.** Aide-mémoire. 93.03/127/1.

174. 4 Feb **Meeting: Freda Kirchway — G. Sullivan.** Report. 93.03/129/10.

175. 4 Feb **M. Kahany to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. CZA Z5/422.

176. 4 Feb **N. Goldmann to A. L. Easterman.** Copy. CZA Z6/17/21.

177. 4 Feb **Meeting: L. Kohn — V. Fox-Strangways.** Report. CZA S25/7725.

178. 4 Feb **E. Sasson to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 79/108; Sent 5 Feb.; Outg. CZA S25/1702; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

179. 5 Feb **B. Akzin to S. Welles.** Copy. 93.03/70/9.

180. 5 Feb **B. Locker to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 41/138; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

181. 5 Feb **Memorandum by M. Fischer.** Memorandum. 93.02/183/7.

182. 6 Feb **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2180/23; Inc. CZA S25/1702.

183. 6 Feb **I. J. Linton to B. Locker.** Copy. CZA S25/5354.

184. 6 Feb **A. Eban and D. Horowitz to C. de Paiva Leite.** Copy. 93.03/95/14.

185. 6 Feb **M. Shertok to Chairman of United Nations Palestine Commission.** Copy. 93.03/88/15.

186. 7 Feb **M. Fischer to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 32/87; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

187. 9 Feb **A. Lourie to L. Kohn.** Copy. 93.03/86/8.

188. 9 Feb **M. Shertok to T. Lie.** Copy. 93.03/130/3.

189. 9 Feb **M. Fischer to M. Shertok.** Orig. 93.03/128/10.

190. 10 Feb **G. Ruffer to Z. Sharef.** Copy. 93.03/64/18. (Hebrew).

191. 10 Feb **C. Weizmann to President Truman.** Copy. Weizmann Archives.

192. 10 Feb **E. Epstein to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tels, 152/–, 153/–; Sent 11/12 Feb.; Outg. Elath Papers; Inc. CZA S25/1702.

193. 10 Feb **E. Epstein to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. CZA Z6/4/5.

1948

194. 11 Feb **M. Fischer to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 33/62; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

195. 11 Feb **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 24/–; Outg. 93.01/2180/23; Inc. CZA S25/1702.

196. 12 Feb **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 13/180; Outg. CZA S25/1702; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

197. 12 Feb **G. Ruffer to M. Shertok.** Copy. 93.03/65/13.

198. 12 Feb **O. Gass to E. Kaplan.** Coded Tel.; Inc. CZA S25/1702.

199. 12 Feb **L. Gelber to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Stencilled memorandum. 93.03/127/1.

200. 13 Feb **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 53/49; Sent 14 Feb.; Outg. 93.01/2180/23; Inc. 130.09/2337/1.

201. 13 Feb **A. Eban to M. Fischer.** Copy. 93.03/128/10.

202. 13 Feb **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 51/99; Inc. CZA S25/1702.

203. 13 Feb **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 17/29; Recd. 13 Feb.; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

204.ca 15 Feb **Memorandum by Z. Lifshitz.** Memorandum. CZA S25/5354. (Hebrew).

205. 15/16 Feb **R. Zaslani to M. Shertok.** Coded Tels. 45/53, 46/92; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

206. 16 Feb **L. Gelber to A. McNaughton.** Copy. CZA Z5/410.

207. 16 Feb **E. Sasson to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 96/53; Recd. 16 Feb.; Outg. CZA S25/1702; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

208. 16 Feb **The Executive of the Jewish Agency in Palestine to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 97/118; Sent 17 Feb. (11.12); Recd. 18 Feb.; Outg. CZA S25/1702; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

209. 17 Feb **M. Fischer to P. O. Lapie.** Copy. 93.02/172/9.

210. 18 Feb **Memorandum for M. Shertok.** Memorandum. CZA S25/6623.

211. 18 Feb **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 22/65; Outg. CZA S25/1702; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

212. 18 Feb **M. Shertok to E. Kaplan.** Coded Tel. 33/–; Sent 19 Feb.; Outg. 93.01/2180/23; Inc. CZA S25/1702.

213. 18 Feb **M. Shertok to E. Kaplan.** Coded Tel. 35/–; Sent 19 Feb.; Outg. 93.01/2180/23 ; Inc. CZA S25/1702.

214. 18 Feb **M. Fischer to M. Shertok.** Orig. 93.03/128/10.

215. 19 Feb **O. Gass to M. Shertok.** Orig. 93.03/127/1.

216. 19 Feb **M. Fischer to N. Goldmann.** Orig. CZA Z6/4/3.

217. 20 Feb **B. Akzin to S. Welles.** Copy. 93.03/66/4.

218. 20 Feb **M. Shertok to E. Kaplan.** Coded Tel. 36/–; Outg. 93.01/2180/23; Inc. CZA S25/1702.

219. 21 Feb **M. Fischer to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 34/95; Recd. 22 Feb.; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

220. 22 Feb **M. Shertok to R. Lovett.** Copy. CZA S25/6623.

221. 22 Feb **I. J. Linton to B. Locker.** Copy. Weizmann Archives.

222. 23 Feb **E. Kaplan to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 10/98; Recd. 27 Feb.; Outg. CZA S25/1702; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

1948

223. 23 Feb **Meeting: B. Locker — J. M. Martin.** Report. 93.03/126/2.

224. 23 Feb **B. Akzin to A. H. Silver.** Copy. 93.03/70/9.

225. 25 Feb **N. Goldmann to E. Kaplan.** Orig. CZA S53/30. (Hebrew).

226. 26 Feb **A. Eban to W. Eytan.** Tel.; Recd. 1 Mar.; Inc. CZA S25/7732.

227. 26 Feb **J. Robinson to M. Toff.** Memorandum. 93.03/74/2.

228. 27 Feb **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Orig. 93.03/117/20. (Hebrew).

229. 27 Feb **E. Epstein to G. Marshall.** Copy. 93.03/126/7.

230. 27 Feb **M. Fischer to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 25/16; Recd, 27 Feb.; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

231. 28 Feb **A. Eban to W. Loridan.** Tel.; Outg. 93.03/126/1.

232. 28 Feb **A. Eban to M. Fischer.** Tel.; Outg. 93.03/126/6.

233. 1 Mar **E. Epstein to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. CZA Z6/4/5.

234. 1 Mar **E. Epstein to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. CZA Z6/4/5.

235. 1 Mar **E. Epstein to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. CZA Z6/4/5.

236. 1 Mar **E. Epstein to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. CZA Z6/4/5.

237. 1 Mar **E. Epstein to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. CZA Z6/4/5.

238. 1 Mar **M. Shertok to Freda Kirchwey.** Copy. 93.03/129/10.

239. 1 Mar **Memorandum by the Arab Section of the Jewish Agency's Political Department.** Memorandum. 93.02/179/18.

240. 1 Mar **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion and D. Remez.** Coded Tel. 86/42; Outg. 93.01/2180/23; Inc. CZA S25/1703.

241. 1 Mar **M. Fischer to M. Shertok.** Orig. 93,03/128/10.

242. 2 Mar **A. Eban to B. Locker.** Coded Tel. 93.01/2180/23.

243. 2 Mar **E. Kaplan to P. Azcarate.** Copy. CZA S25/5628.

244. 3 Mar **N. Goldmann to M. Fischer.** Copy. CZA Z6/4/3.

245. 3 Mar **Meeting: E. Najar — Foreign Affairs Group of the M.R.P.** Report. 93.03/128/10.

246. 3 Mar **Note by W. Eytan.** Copy. CZA S25/9029.

247. 3 Mar **Meeting: L. Kohn — V. Fox-Strangways.** Report. 93.03/86/8.

248. 3 Mar **L. Kohn to M. Shertok and G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 20/171; Recd. 8 Mar.; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

249. 3/4 Mar **Meetings of B. Locker in Brussels.** Report. 93.03/126/1.

250. 4 Mar **W. Eytan to M. Shertok.** Orig. 93.03/125/16.

251. 4 Mar **Meeting: L. Kohn — R. M. Graves.** Report. CZA S25/8176. (Hebrew).

252. 4 Mar **M. Shertok to Z. Sharef.** Tel.; Outg. 93.03/128/3; Inc. 130.09/2337/2.

253. 4 Mar **M. Fischer to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 37/41; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

254. 5 Mar **E. Epstein to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. CZA Z6/4/5.

1948

255. 5 Mar **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion and D. Remez.** Tel.; Outg. 93.03/88/15; Inc. 130.09/2337/2.

256. 5 Mar **A. Eban to D. Kessler.** Copy. 93.03/126/6.

257. 6 Mar **E. Epstein to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 2/80; Inc. CZA S25/1703.

258. 7 Mar **Report by R. Zaslani.** Report. CZA S25/7706. (Hebrew).

259. 8 Mar **E. Sasson, Z. Sharef to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. J410N/76; Sent 9 Mar. (09.07); Outg. CZA S25/10636; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

260. 8 Mar **L. Kohn to R. M. Graves.** Copy. CZA S25/8176.

261. 8 Mar **Meeting: C. V. Herzog — A. R. Roscher Lund.** Report. 93.03/65/11.

262.ca 8 Mar **W. Eytan: Report on meetings with members of the Advance Party of the United Nations Palestine Commission.** Report. CZA S25/5354.

263. 8 Mar **E. Epstein to S. Rosenman.** Copy. Elath Papers, File "Chronological XI".

264. 8 Mar **M. Shertok to President of the Trusteeship Council.** Copy. 93.03/95/14.

265. 8 Mar **M. Fischer to M. Shertok.** Orig. 93.03/128/10.

266. 9 Mar **M. Shertok to K. Lisicky.** Copy. 93.03/88/15.

267. 9 Mar **Meeting: L. Kohn, Y. Behar — V. Fox-Strangways.** Report. 68/576/35. (Hebrew).

268.ca 10 Mar **W. Eytan to Editors of Jewish newspapers in Palestine.** Copy. CZA S25/7726. (Hebrew).

269. 11 Mar **Meeting: G. Ruffer — W. Hillman.** Report. CZA S25/5634.

270. 11 Mar **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 80/350; Sent 11 Mar. (23.30); Recd. 22 Mar.; Outg. CZA S25/1703; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

271. 11 Mar **Meeting: C. V. Herzog — A. R. Roscher Lund.** Report. 93.03/125/16.

272. 12 Mar **Memorandum by the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive to the Permanent Members of the Security Council.** Stencilled Memorandum. CZA Z5/41.

273. 13 Mar **E. Sasson and H. Berman: Outlines of a policy toward the Arab States.** Memorandum. CZA S25/9383. (Hebrew).

274. 14 Mar **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok and G. Meyerson.** Orig. 93.03/117/20. (Hebrew).

275. 15 Mar **The American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 16 Mar.; Outg. 93.03/93/14; Inc. 130.09/2337/2.

276. 15 Mar **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Sent and Recd. 16 Mar.; Outg. 93.03/93/14; Inc. CZA S25/5176.

277. 15 Mar **Dorothy Adelson to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Report. 93.03/125/16.

278. 16 Mar **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Tel.; Outg. CZA S25/1703; Inc. 93.03/93/14.

1948

279. 16 Mar **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 18/129; Sent 17 Mar.; Recd. 19 Mar.; Outg. 93.01/2180/23; Inc. CZA S25/1703.

280. 16 Mar **E. Epstein to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. CZA Z6/4/5.

281. 17 Mar **E. Epstein to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. CZA Z6/4/5.

282. 17 Mar **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Tel.; Outg. 68/576/35; Inc. 93.03/128/3.

283. 17 Mar **M. Shertok to T. Lie.** Copy. CZA Z5/409I.

284. 17 Mar **C.V. Herzog to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 29/56; Outg. CZA S25/1703; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

285. 18 Mar **C.V. Herzog to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 30/64; Recd. 23 Mar.; Outg. CZA S25/1703; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

286. 19 Mar **A.H. Silver: Address before the Security Council.** Printed Record. *SCOR, Third Year,* Nos. 36-51, pp. 167-70.

287. 19 Mar **Meeting: W. Eytan — P. Azcarate.** Report. 93.03/125/16.

288. 19 Mar **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion and D. Remez.** Tel.; Recd. 19 Mar.; Outg. 93.03/88/15; Inc. CZA S25/1703.

289. 20 Mar **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 20 Mar.; Outg. 93.03/128/3; Inc. CZA S25/1703.

290. 20 Mar **Memorandum by G. Ruffer.** Memorandum. CZA S25/5634.

291. 20 Mar **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 99/134; Outg. CZA S25/1703; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

292. 20 Mar **M. Fischer to Suzanne Bidault.** Copy. 93.02/183/2.

293. 21 Mar **E. Sasson and H. Berman to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 34/53; Sent 26 Mar.; Inc. CZA S25/1551; Outg. 93.01/2180/14.

294. 21 Mar **M. Fischer to G. Bidault.** Copy. 93.02/183/2.

295. 21 Mar **M. Fischer to M. Shertok.** Orig. 93.03/128/10.

296. 22 Mar **M. Shertok to G. Meyerson.** Tel.; Inc. CZA S25/1703.

297. 22 Mar **The American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 35/291; Recd. 23 Mar.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. CZA S25/1703.

298. 22 Mar **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 23 Mar.; Inc. CZA S25/1584.

299. 22 Mar **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 100/20; Outg. CZA S25/1703; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

300. 22 Mar **M. Fischer to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 40/60; Inc. 93.01/2180/12.

301. 22 Mar **Meeting: C. V. Herzog — A.R. Roscher Lund.** Report. 93.03/125/16.

302. 23 Mar **D. Ben-Gurion and D. Remez to M. Shertok.** Tel.; Outg. CZA S25/1703; Inc. 93.03/88/15.

303. 23 Mar **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion and D. Remez.** Tel.; Outg. 93.03/88/15.

304. 23 Mar **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Outg. 93.03/88/15.

1948

305. 23 Mar **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 3/35; Recd. 24 Mar.; Outg. CZA S25/1703; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

306. 23 Mar **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 40/56; Recd. 24 Mar.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. CZA S25/1703.

307. 23 Mar **M. Shertok to R. Zaslani.** Coded Tel. 44/20; Sent 24 Mar.; Recd. 26 Mar.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. CZA S25/1703.

308. 24 Mar **B. Locker: Report on talks in Brussels.** Report. Weizmann Archives.

309. 24 Mar **U. Heydt to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 56/36; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

310. 24 Mar **Meeting: S. Brodetsky — B. Kratochvil.** Report. Weizmann Archives.

311. 24 Mar **M. Fischer to N. Goldmann.** Orig. CZA Z6/4/3.

312. 24 Mar **Meeting: W. Eytan — P. Azcarate.** Report. 93.03/125/16.

313. 24 Mar **C. V. Herzog to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 40/123; Outg. CZA S25/1551; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

314. 24 Mar **L. Kohn to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 39/75; Outg. CZA S25/1551; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

315. 25 Mar **M. Shertok to Chairman of United Nations Palestine Commission.** Copy. 93.03/94/7.

316. 25 Mar **S. Langnas to the Jewish Agency Executive, Palestine.** Copy. CZA S25/6661. (Hebrew).

317. 25 Mar **The Jewish Agency, Palestine, to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 41/96; Outg. CZA S25/1703; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

318. 26 Mar **Meeting: M. Shertok, E. Epstein — G. Marshall, R. Lovett.** Report. 130.02/2414/22.

319. 26 Mar **Memorandum by W. Eytan, A. Levavi, C. V. Herzog, H. Berman and E. Sasson.** Memorandum. CZA S25/9383. (Hebrew).

320. 26 Mar **C. V. Herzog to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 42/41; Outg. CZA S25/1551; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

321. 27 Mar **S. Meirov to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel, 6/31; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

322. 27 Mar **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 14/44; Sent 28 Mar.; Outg. CZA S25/1703; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

323. 28 Mar **H. Berman, W. Eytan, L. Kohn and E. Sasson to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 45/–; Outg. CZA S25/1558.

324. 28/29 Mar **W. Eytan to M. Shertok.** Coded Tels. 44/99, 46/169; Recd. 29-30 Mar.; Outg. CZA S25/1551; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

325. 29 Mar **E. Epstein to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. CZA Z6/4/5.

326. 29 Mar **R. Bunche to M. Shertok.** Orig. 93.03/88/15.

327. 29 Mar **M. Shertok to R. Zaslani.** Tel.; Recd. 30 Mar.; Inc. CZA S25/1703.

328. 30 Mar **E. Sasson to D. Ben-Gurion, G. Meyerson and E. Kaplan.** Copy. CZA S53/2078. (Hebrew).

329. 31 Mar **M. Shertok to R. Bunche.** Copy. 93.03/94/7.

1948

330. 31 Mar **A. Lourie to D. Wahl.** Copy. 93.03/71/1.

331. 1 Apr **Meeting: N. Goldmann — H. McNeil.** Report. CZA Z6/17/21.

332. 1 Apr **Rabbi I. Halevi Herzog to Sir Henry Gurney.** Copy, CZA S25/7723.

333. 1 Apr **M. Comay to G. Meyerson, D. B. Joseph and L. Kohn.** Copy. CZA S25/8176.

334. 2 Apr **The American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 2 Apr.; Outg. 93.03/128/4; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

335. 2 Apr **M. Fischer to Mgr. A. J. Roncalli.** Copy. 93.03/128/10.

336. 2 Apr **W. Eytan: Report on meetings with members of the Advance Party of the United Nations Palestine Commission.** Report. 93.03/125/16.

337. 4 Apr **The Jewish Agency Executive, Palestine, to M. Shertok.** Tel.; Recd. 4 Apr.; Outg. CZA S25/1704; Inc. 93.03/128/4.

338. 4 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion and G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 76/23; Recd. 5 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

339. 4 Apr **M. Shertok to E. Sasson.** Coded Tel. 80/108; Repeated 14 Apr.; Recd. 15 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. CZA S25/1551.

340. 4 Apr **M. Toff to M. Shertok.** Memorandum. 93.03/129/4.

341. 5 Apr **O. Gass to E. Epstein.** Coded Tel. 14/50; Recd. 6 Apr.; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

342. 5 Apr **M. Shertok to W. Eytan.** Coded Tel. 45/48; Recd. 7 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. CZA S25/1551.

343. 5 Apr **M. Fischer to H. Berman.** Coded Tel. 53/–; Recd. 7 Apr.; Inc. CZA S25/1558.

344. 5 Apr **I. Ben-Zvi to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Copy. CZA S40/8/1. (Hebrew).

345. 5 Apr **Meeting: W. Eytan — P. Azcarate.** Report. 93.03/125/16.

346. 5 Apr **Meeting: C. V. Herzog — A. R. Roscher Lund.** Report. 93.03/125/16.

347. 6 Apr **M. Shertok to G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 83/126; Recd. 7/13 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

348. 6 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 81/29; Recd. 7 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

349. 6 Apr **M. Shertok to K. Lisicky.** Copy 93.03/94/7.

350. 6 Apr **M. Shertok to G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 88/76; Sent 7 Apr.; Recd. 8 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

351. 7 Apr **A. Eban to M. Fischer.** Copy. 93.03/126/6.

352. 7 Apr **O. Gass to E. Epstein.** Coded Tel. 15/42; Recd. 8 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. 130.09/2308/2.

353. 7 Apr **Meeting: L. Kohn — Sir Alan Cunningham.** Report. 68/576/35.

354. 7 Apr **L. Kohn to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. J412 N116; Outg. CZA S25/1704; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

355. 8 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion and G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel.

92/262; Sent 9 Apr.; Recd. 10 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

356. 8 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion and G. Meyerson.** Tel.; Recd. 9 Apr.; Outg. 93.03/128/4; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

357. 8 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion and G. Meyerson.** Tel.; Recd. 9 Apr.; Outg. 93.03/128/4; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

358. 8 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion and G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 98/160; Sent 10 Apr.; Recd. 11 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

359. 8 Apr **A. H. Silver to C. Fahy.** Copy. 93.03/126/10.

360. 8 Apr **L. Gelber to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Memorandum. 93.03/127/1.

361. 8 Apr **M. Fischer to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 46/33; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

362. 8 Apr **W. Eytan to M. Shertok.** Orig. 93.03/125/16.

363. 8 Apr **Meeting: H. Berman — R. Neuville.** Diary of H. Berman. CZA S25/6595. (Hebrew).

364. 9 Apr **C. Weizmann to President Truman.** Copy. 93.03/67/6.

365. 9 Apr **Meeting: M. Shertok — R. Lovett, D. Rusk.** Report. 130.02/2414/22.

366. 9 Apr **Meeting: M. Shertok — D. Rusk.** Report. 93.03/129/6.

367. 9 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion and G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 94/59; Recd. 10 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

368. 9 Apr **C. Fahy to A. H. Silver.** Orig. 93.03/126/10.

369. 9 Apr **L. Kohn to V. Fox-Strangways.** Copy. CZA S25/5176.

370. 10 Apr **C. Fahy to A. H. Silver.** Orig. 93.03/126/10.

371. 11 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 3/192; Sent 12 Apr.; Recd. 13 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

372. 11 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 14 Apr.; Outg. 93.03/95/1; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

373. 12 Apr **A. Eban to J. Ross.** Copy. 93.03/95/14.

374. 12 Apr **M. Shertok to G. Meyerson.** Coded Tel. 11/57; Sent and Recd. 14 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

375. 12 Apr **Meeting: S. Hoofien, I. J. Linton — K. Lisicky, J. Reedman.** Report. 93.03/88/11.

376. 12 Apr **The Jewish Agency to King Abdallah.** Tel.; Outg. (Arabic) CZA S25/1704. (Hebrew).

377. 13 Apr **H. Berman, W. Eytan to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 53/135; Outg. CZA S25/1551; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

378. 14 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 19 Apr.; Outg. 93.03/95/1; Inc. CZA S25/1558.

379. 14 Apr **C. Gruenberg to M. Shertok.** Report. 93.03/129/4.

380. 15 Apr **Memorandum by M. Fischer.** Memorandum. 93.03/128/10.

381. 15 Apr **H. Berman to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 56/61; Outg. CZA S25/1558; Inc. 93.01/2180/15.

1948

382. 15 Apr **M.Shertok: Address before the Security Council.** Printed Record. *SCOR, Third Year,* No. 57, pp. 11-15.

383. 16 Apr **M. Shertok to A. López.** Stencilled Copy. 93.03/94/5.

384. 16 Apr **B. Akzin to E. Neumann.** Copy. 93.03/95/1.

385. 16 Apr **Meeting: C. Fahy — R. Lovett.** Report. 93.03/126/10.

386. 16 Apr **M. Fischer to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 48/23; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

387. 16 Apr **M. Rosetté to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 59/33; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

388. 16 Apr **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Orig. 93.03/117/20. (Hebrew).

389. 16 Apr **L. Kohn to General G. MacMillan.** Copy. 68/577/36.

390. 17 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tels. 23/172, 22/180; Second part sent 18 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. 130.09/2337/4.

391. 17 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 20/7; Recd. 18 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. 130.09/2337/4.

392. 17 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 21/45; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. 130.09/2337/4.

393. 18 Apr **W. Eytan to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 57/41; Recd. 19 Apr.; Outg. CZA S25/1558; Inc. 93.01/2180/15.

394. 19 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14.

395. 19 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 20 Apr.; Inc. CZA S25/1551.

396. 19 Apr **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Tel.; Sent 20 Apr.; Recd. 20 Apr.; Outg. CZA S25/1558; Inc. 93.03/128/4.

397. 19 Apr **J. Proskauer — Negotiations with R. Lovett and D. Rusk.** Report. 93.03/85/16.

398. 19 Apr **M. Shertok to A. López.** Stencilled Copy. 93.03/94/5.

399. 20 Apr **A. Eban to B. Locker.** Copy. 93.03/126/6.

400. 20 Apr **Meeting: C. V. Herzog — A. R. Roscher Lund.** Report. 93.03/125/16.

401. 20 Apr **C. V. Herzog to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 59/75; Outg. CZA S25/1551; Inc. 93.01/2180/14.

402. 21 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 33/81; Recd. 22 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/14; Inc. 130.09/2337/4.

403. 21 Apr **W. Eytan to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 61/99; Sent 22 Apr. (11.00); Outg. CZA S25/1558; Inc. 93.01/2180/15.

404. 22 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 25 Apr.; Outg. 93.03/95/1; Inc. CZA S25/1551.

405. 22 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 25 Apr.; Outg. 93.03/128/4; Inc. CZA S25/1551.

406. 22 Apr **E. Sasson to Chief of the Royal Cabinet, Amman.** Orig. Hebrew copy. CZA S25/1704. (Hebrew).

407. 23 Apr **M. Comay to members of the Jewish Agency Executive.** Report. 93.03/126/3.

408. 23 Apr **E. Sasson to M. Shertok.** Tel.; Outg. CZA S25/8182.

1948

409. 24 Apr **Meeting: H. Berman — R. Neuville.** Diary of H. Berman. CZA S25/6595. (Hebrew).

410. 25 Apr **M. Shertok to R. Zaslani.** Coded Tel. 52/34; Sent 26 Apr.; Recd. 3 May; Outg. 93.01/2180/15; Inc. CZA S25/1558.

411. 25 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 51/77; Recd. 26 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/15; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

412. 25 Apr **H. Berman to E. Kaplan.** Report. CZA S25/5634. (Hebrew).

413. 26 Apr **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Tel.; Recd. 1 May; Inc. 93.03/128/4.

414. 26 Apr **Memorandum by J. Robinson and E. Epstein.** Memorandum. 93.03/95/1.

415. 26 Apr **A. Lourie to M. Shertok.** Memorandum. 93.03/126/10.

416. 26 Apr **Meeting: B. Locker — P. H. Spaak.** Minutes. Weizmann Archives.

417. 27 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 29 Apr.; Outg. 93.03/95/1; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

418. 27 Apr **J. Proskauer to M. Shertok.** Orig. 93.03/85/16.

419. 27 Apr **Meeting: S. Brodetsky — C. Mayhew.** Report. Weizmann Archives.

420. 27 Apr **C. V. Herzog to D. Ben-Gurion.** Communication. 130.11/2513/14. (Hebrew).

421. 27 Apr **Meeting: Representatives of the Jewish Agency — Consular Truce Commission.** Minutes. CZA S25/5634. (Hebrew).

422. 28 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 58/234; Sent 29 Apr.; Recd. 5 May; Outg. 93.01/2180/15; Inc. CZA S25/1558.

423. 28 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Outg. 93.03/95/1; Inc. 68/576/35.

424. 28 Apr **M. Fischer to M. Shertok.** Orig. 93.03/128/10.

425. 29 Apr **E. Kaplan to M. Shertok.** Tel.; Inc. 93.03/128/4.

426. 29 Apr **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Telephonic Communication. 93.03/95/1.

427. 29 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 30 Apr.; Outg. 93.03/95/1; Inc. CZA S25/1704.

428. 29 Apr **M. Shertok to G. Marshall.** Copy. CZA Z4/20029B.

429. 29 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tels. 41/104, 60/136; Recd. 30 Apr., 2 May; Outg. 93.01/2180/15; Inc. 130.09/2337/4, CZA S25/1528.

430. 29 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 42/32; Recd. 30 Apr.; Outg. 93.01/2180/15; Inc. 130.09/2337/4.

431. 29 Apr **M. Shertok to J. Proskauer.** Copy. 93.03/85/16.

432. 29 Apr **A. Eban to M. Fischer.** Copy. 93.03/126/6.

433. 29 Apr **E. Kaplan to J. Nieuwenhuys.** Copy. CZA S25/5176.

434. 29 Apr **V. Fox-Strangways to the Jewish Agency.** Orig. CZA S25/7725.

435. 29 Apr **L. Kohn to Sir Henry Gurney.** Copy. 68/577/36.

436. 29 Apr **Sir Henry Gurney to D. Ben-Gurion.** Orig. Ben-Gurion Archives 1536.

1948

437. 29 Apr **L. Kohn to Sir Henry Gurney.** Copy. 68/577/36.

438. 30 Apr **D. Ben-Gurion to the New York Office of the Jewish Agency.** Tel.; Inc. 93.03/128/4.

439. 30 Apr **J. Proskauer to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 44/103; Recd. 2 May; Outg. 93.01/2180/15; Inc. CZA S25/1558.

440. 30 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 44/103; Recd. 2 May; Outg. 93.01/2180/15; Inc. 130.09/2337/4.

441. 30 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 63/42; Recd. 1 May; Outg. 93.01/2180/15; Inc. CZA S25/1558.

442. 30 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 1 May; Outg. 93.03/95/1; Inc. CZA S25/1710.

443. 30 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 1 May; Outg. 93.03/95/1; Inc. CZA S25/1710.

444. 30 Apr **A. H. Silver to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 1 May; Outg. 93.03/95/1; Inc. CZA S25/1710.

445. 30 Apr **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion.** Tel.; Recd. 1 May; Outg. 93.03/128/4; Inc. CZA S25/1710.

446. 30 Apr **A. Lourie to W. Eytan.** Copy. 93.03/126/9.

447. 1 May **M. Shertok to A. Parodi.** Tel.; Outg. 93,03/94/5.

448. 1 May **M. Shertok to E. Kaplan.** Tel.; Inc. CZA S53/205.

449. 1 May **M. Shertok to R. Zaslani.** Tel.; Outg. 93.03/128/5, (Hebrew).

450. 2 May **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion and E. Kaplan.** Tel.; Outg. 93.03/95/1; Inc. CZA S25/8176.

451. 2 May **D. Ben-Gurion to M. Shertok.** Tel.; Inc. 93.03/128/5.

452. 2 May **I. J. Linton to S. Brodetsky.** Copy. CZA Z4/20029B.

453. 2 May **Meeting: E. Kaplan — Sir Henry Gurney.** Report. CZA S25/7725.

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455. 3 May **M. Shertok to D. Ben-Gurion and E. Kaplan.** Tel.; Recd. 4 May; Outg. 93.03/128/5; Inc. CZA S25/1710.

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459 4 May(?) **Comments of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency on the State Department's draft articles of truce for Palestine.** Memorandum. 130.02/2424/18.

460. 4 May **Memorandum by C. Fahy for R. Lovett.** Copy. 93.03/126/10.

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1948

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475. 6 May **Meeting: G. Meyerson, E. Kaplan — Sir Alan Cunningham.** Report. CZA S25/5634. (Hebrew).

476. 7 May **G. Meyerson to Sir Alan Cunningham.** Copy. CZA S25/5634.

477. 7 May **The Jewish Agency (United States) to the Jewish Agency (Palestine).** Coded Tel.; Outg. 93.01/2180/15.

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480. 7 May **M. Shertok to G. Marshall.** Copy. 93.03/72/29.

481. 7 May **B. Locker: Report on meetings in Stockholm, Oslo and Copenhagen.** Report. 93.03/129/6.

482. 7 May **C. V. Herzog to G. Meyerson.** Memorandum. CZA S25/5176.

483. 8 May **Meeting: M. Shertok, E. Epstein — G. Marshall, R. Lovett, D. Rusk.** Report. CZA Z6/4/15.

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1948

490. 11 May **C. D. Ginsburg to A. H. Silver.** Memorandum. 93.03/69/5.

491. 11 May **A. Lourie to M. Shertok.** Coded Tel. 76/58; Recd. 12 May; Outg. 93.01/2180/15; Inc. CZA S25/1553.

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493. 11 May **E. Epstein to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 74/41; Recd. 12 May; Outg. 93.01/2180/15; Inc. CZA S25/1553.

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498. 12 May **H. Berman and L. Kohn to R. Zaslani.** Tel.; Outg. CZA S25/9390. (Hebrew).

499. 12 May **W. Eytan and H. Berman to R. Zaslani.** Tel.; Outg. CZA S25/9390. (Hebrew).

500. 12 May **J. L. Fishman to Sir Henry Gurney.** Copy. CZA S25/5634.

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503. 13 May **M. Shertok to A. H. Silver.** Tel.; Outg. 130.09/2328/3; Inc. 93.03/88/15.

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509. 13 May **N. Goldmann to D. Ben-Gurion.** Coded Tel. 85/124; Recd. 15 May; Inc. 130.09/2318/4.

510. 13 May **E. Dobkin to Sir Alan Cunningham.** Copy. CZA S25/9392.

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130. *Record Group: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Head Office*
    - 130.02 Offices of Minister and Director-General
    - 130.09 Coded telegrams
    - 130.11 East European Division

41. *Emergency Committee, 1947–1948*

68. *Leo Kohn Papers* *

134. *Collection of documents relating to the history of the State of Israel and its establishment*

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S25 Political Department of the Jewish Agency

S40 Economic Bureau (Tel Aviv Branch of the Jewish Agency's Treasury Department)

S44 Office of David Ben-Gurion

S53 Office of Eliezer Kaplan

Z4 Central Office of the Jewish Agency, London

Z5 Office of the American Section of the Jewish Agency

Z5 39–43 Summaries of meetings of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive (Abbreviated reference: **ASJAE**)

Z5/2379–90 Verbatim record of meetings of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive (Abbreviated reference: **ASJAE**)

Z6 Office of Nahum Goldmann, New York

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* Please note the following changes in references to the Leo Kohn Papers: 68/576/35 should read 68/573/1; 68/577/36 should read 68/573/12.

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GLOSSARY

Note: Because of the standardized transliteration used in the glossary, there are slight differences between the spelling of some of the Hebrew terms in the glossary and the original spelling in the text.

Aguda	— Agudat Israel (Organization)
Aliya	— Jewish Immigration into Palestine
Aliya B	— Unauthorized ("illegal") Jewish immigration into Palestine
Asefat ha-Nivharim	— Elected Assembly of Palestine Jews
Bira	— Capital city
Chaluka, *see* Haluka	
Chaverim, *see* Haverim	
Chazak ve-nitchazek, *see* Hazak ve-nithazek	
Derekh agav	— By the way, casually
Emek [Yizre'el]	— Valley of Yizre'el
Eretz Israel	— The Land of Israel, Palestine
Etzel (acronym)	— The I.Z.L. (Irgun Zeva'i Le'umi)
Ha'apala	— Unauthorized ("illegal") Jewish immigration into Palestine
ha-Bira, *see* Bira	
Hahlatot	— Decisions, resolutions
Haluka	— Partition
Hanhala	— Executive
Haverim	— Comrades, colleagues
Hazak ve-nithazek	— Exclamation pronounced on finishing the reading of the Pentateuch. Used also in the sense of "let us be strong and of good courage."
Histadrut [Klalit shel ha-Ovdim ha-Ivrim be-Eretz Israel]	— General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine.

Keren Hayesod	— Jewish Foundation Fund
Keren Kayemet Leisrael	— Jewish National Fund
Mahleket ha-Medina	— [U.S.] Department of State
Mahleket Medinit (Mahlaka Medinit)	— Political Department [of the Jewish Agency]
Matbe'ah	— Currency
Medina	— State
Mishmar ha-Am	— Civil Guard
Nasi	— President
Neft	— Oil
Rekhisha	— Procurement [of arms]
Tzirim	— Delegates
Va'ad	— Committee
Va'adat ha-Matzav	— The Emergency Committee
Va'ad Le'umi	— General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine
Va'ad Zemani	— Provisional Council of Government (lit.: Provisional Committee)
Yahud (Arabic)	— Jews
Yishuv	— The Jewish Community of Palestine
Yoshev-rosh	— Chairman
Yud-heh	— 15 [May 1948]
Zirim, *see* Tzirim	

SUMMARIES OF HEBREW DOCUMENTS

2. Meeting: D. Ben-Gurion — Sir Alan Cunningham (Jerusalem, 1 December 1947)

Ben-Gurion suggested that British and Jews of Palestine part in peace, though not in a way directed against Arabs or at their expense. The British departure could be marked either by friendly indifference or by friendly cooperation. In the course of the discussion Ben-Gurion raised following subjects:

a) Stock of food supplies in Palestine. b) Fuel supplies. c) Cooperation in preservation of Land Registry records. d) Military stores. e) Licensing of Jewish broadcasting station in Tel Aviv. f) Armed escort for Jewish transport; Ben-Gurion requested Government permission for non-uniformed Jewish escorts in order to secure safety of passengers without provoking Arabs. g) Jewish Civil Guard; Ben-Gurion requested permission to import arms for Guard and to let it use armoured cars. h) Ben-Gurion reiterated his opposition to sale of Government land in Haifa port area. High Commissioner promised to reply at later date.

8. D. Ben-Gurion: Speech at meeting of Executive Committee of General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine (3 December 1947)

Ben-Gurion surveys situation following U.N. resolution [on partition of Palestine].

Although resolution only partly satisfies Jewish aspirations, it must be regarded as great achievement. Territory assigned to Jewish state opens great vistas to development and settlement, and access to both Mediterranean and Red Sea puts it in unique position. Sanction given by majority of mankind, including U.S.A. and Soviet Union, to establishment of Jewish state, is of great significance. Yet Ben-Gurion is troubled by doubts as to whether Jews are capable of self-government, and is worried lest they get embroiled in internal squabbles instead of embarking on work of construction.

Implementation [of U.N. resolution] is not confined to immediate problem of effective establishment of state and its institutions, but will stretch over period of at least ten years. Unless one and a half million Jews are brought into country and settled within this period, existence of Jewish state will not have been secured.

Ben-Gurion draws four conclusions:

1) During implementation period there should be national coalition based on three principles: (a) realization of Zionism — immigration and settlement; (b) democratic system of government; (c) Jewish–Arab cooperation.

2) Unity of workers, with aim of developing country and preserving Jewish independence.

3) Jerusalem must become centre of world Jewry, of Zionist Movement and of all Palestinian Jews, including those who will be living outside State's boundaries.

4) Everything should be done, by way of persuasion, to prevent irredentist propaganda and talk of conquering rest of country and Jerusalem. Jewish state will not survive unless Jews show determination and ability to win friendship of Arabs.

12. D. Ben-Gurion (Tel Aviv) to members of the Agricultural Centre. 4 December 1947

Ben-Gurion calls for immediate action to expand Jewish settlements in three areas assigned to Arab State: the South-West (Negev), the South-East (Etzion settlements) and Western Galilee, since such expansion will probably not be possible after termination of Mandate.

31. Y. Shimoni (Jerusalem) to G. Meyerson. 10 December 1947

Report on conversation with emissary of King Abdallah. (The latter part of the meeting was also attended by E. Sasson). Main points were: 1) King is willing to meet again with Jewish representatives. [On earlier meeting, on 17 November 1947, see Editorial Note, p. 45]. 2) King has telegraphed Haj Amin al-Husseini, urging him to exercise moderation. [Hebrew translation of telegram in same file]. He has also asked Secretary-General of the Arab League to stop Arab acts of violence in Palestine. 3) Emissary gave Jewish representatives a

copy of King Abdallah's instructions to his Cabinet concerning Transjordan's stand at forthcoming meeting of Arab League Council. [Hebrew translation in same file. Instructions include warning that a Palestinian Arab state under rule of Haj Amin al-Husseini will lead to economic strangulation of Transjordan and its annexation by one of neighbouring countries. King also warned that United Nations might impose sanctions against Arabs and send an armed force to Palestine]. 4) At meeting with Iraqi Prime Minister, King Abdallah reiterated his objections to entry of Iraqi forces into Transjordan. 5) King refused to take part in newly formed Military Committee of Arab League because this would have implied recognition of its authority to use armed forces of Transjordan. 6) King is prepared on principle to authorise meeting between representatives of Transjordan, Jews and rebel Druse of Syria to discuss cooperation.

32. I. Galili to R. Zaslani. 10 December 1947

Report on conversation between Ben-Gurion and Mayor of Tel Aviv, I. Rokach. Rokach had learned from Lydda District Commissioner that British and Arab police would leave Tel Aviv municipal area on 15 December, but would continue to be responsible for security in adjacent Jewish quarters of Jaffa. The Civil Guard in Tel Aviv would be manned by civilians armed with licensed weapons. According to Ben-Gurion, it had been agreed with Chief Secretary and Inspector-General of Police that Jewish quarters of Jaffa would be included in evacuated area and that Civil Guard would be armed force. He declared that the matter was of vital importance and must be discussed immediately with authorities. If there were to be only Jewish police on Tel Aviv side of municipal boundary, there would have to be only Arab police on Arab side.

45. D. Ben-Gurion (Tel Aviv) to M. Shertok (New York). 14 December 1947

In reply to telegram from Shertok [undated, in file 93.01/2180/5] suggesting "utmost efforts bring Dissidents [i.e. the I.Z.L. and Lehi underground organizations] into fold", Ben-Gurion reports on negotiations between Jewish Agency representatives and I.Z.L. leader M.

Begin, in the course of which latter promised to disband the organization after establishment of Jewish State. Various suggestions for interim agreement have been made. Ben-Gurion wants comprehensive undertaking by the organizations to refrain from independent operations, but doubts whether they will agree.

As for Arabs of Palestine — the Mufti, Haj Amin al-Husseini, has achieved dominant position, while opposition is discouraged and inactive. For time being, the mass of *fellahin* are not taking part in acts of violence. The Arabs, though more daring than before, are not well organized, and are economically more vulnerable than they had been.

Performance of Haganah satisfactory, though it requires more equipment. E. Ueberall (Avriel) is in Europe for that purpose.

Attitude of British authorities is equivocal. On the one hand, there is desire to demonstrate that they are enforcing peace and order while Mandate is in force, as well as indications of wish for conciliation with Jews. On the other hand, there is tendency to appear "neutral" under all circumstances and widespread hostility towards the Jews because of casualties suffered by army and police. Ben-Gurion doubts truth of assertions concerning alleged British plot to prevent establishment of Jewish state.

Civil Guard in Tel Aviv area: British authorities did not adhere to arrangement according to which Guard would in effect be under authority of Haganah, and refused to supply it with arms. Ben-Gurion emphasized that Guard would not be placed under authority of police and that there would be no application for mere licensing of arms.

57. Y. Klinow [Paris] to M. Sneh. 16 December 1947

[Klinow was invited to Prague and Bratislava by Zionist Organization of Czechoslovakia. For previous correspondence, see Klinow to Sneh, 3 December 1947, 93.02/184/9; Sneh to Klinow, 10 December 1947, C.Z.A. S25/1700].

Klinow reports on replies of Jan Masaryk [Czechoslovak Foreign Minister and head of his country's delegation to second U.N. General Assembly] at press conference, to questions concerning Palestine problem. In response to questioning by an Egyptian and an Indian journalist, he strongly reaffirmed Czechoslovakia's support for establishment of a Jewish state.

Klinow attended festive rally in Prague (sponsored by Council of

Jewish Communities). Rally was a success, though no ministers, only officials, attended. Klinow also held meeting with Zionists in Prague, reporting on situation in Palestine.

In Bratislava Klinow was given friendly reception at Slovak Ministry of Information. Ministry arranged press conference at which he lectured on Palestine situation. He took part in festive rally sponsored by local Zionist Organization. Rally was a success, though Slovak commissars and some consuls stayed away. Klinow established contacts with officials of Ministry of Information.

Events had given great boost to self-image of Jews and to their standing in eyes of non-Jews. Jewish statehood is being talked about everywhere. Jews are showing interest in immigrating to Palestine, and Jewish war veterans were coming forward to volunteer.

Government funding of Masaryk School project in Palestine has run into difficulties, caused, according to official source, by Czechoslovak consul in Jerusalem, Novak, who had objected to such pro-Jewish demonstration. Ministry of Information finally agreed to cover part of cost and Ministry of Education is also expected to contribute.

59. Meeting: G. Meyerson — Sir Alan Cunningham (Jerusalem, 17 December 1947)

Report by Golda Meyerson. She opened by declaring that Jews had hoped for cooperation and understanding with British during last months of Mandate. However, she complained, Government had not honoured its undertaking to enforce law and order, but was weakening Jewish side by arrests of security personnel and arms searches. At best, British were being neutral between Arab attackers and Jewish defenders. They were thus encouraging Arabs to think that Government was either not strong enough or unwilling to intervene. Jews were maintaining contacts with authorities with regard to all incidents, but were invariably accused by latter of responsibility for clashes. If this situation continued, Jewish Agency would have to appeal to world opinion.

High Commissioner said that he sympathized with desire to establish Jewish state and wished Jews well. But he accused Haganah of adopting militant line and undertaking operations similar to those of the I.Z.L. He was studying possible measures designed to improve security and was prepared to cooperate with Jews to that end. He hoped

moderate Arabs would exert influence and situation would improve. He wished to protect Jewish lives — that was his official duty — but personally he also wanted to make things easier for Jews after British departure. He said a way must be found to attain understanding and cooperation between Jews and Arabs.

In reply G. Meyerson said that Jews were seeking peaceful solution, but not at price of independence. Jews could not be expected to remain passive in face of murderous attacks. She denied High Commissioner's allegation that Jews did not appreciate restraint shown by British forces during preceding years.

62. H. Berman (Jerusalem) to G. Meyerson. 18 December 1947

Berman, Secretary of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, reports that consuls of East European countries are uneasy over possibility of conciliation between British and Jews. Senft [-Lisowski], the Polish [Vice] Consul, told him about information and queries received from Polish Legation in London, concerning alleged negotiations between Jews and British about Dominion status for Jewish state, grant of military bases to British and inclusion of Jewish state in sterling area. Berman denied first two allegations, stressed desire of Jews for independence of any foreign influence.

63. H. Berman (Jerusalem) to G. Meyerson. 19 December 1947

Berman reports on his talk with French Consul-General, René Neuville. Berman explained Haganah's policy of restraint and complained that British were aiding Arabs. He said that foreign consuls in Palestine should keep their governments well-informed on situation. Jews were in need of arms, and it was essential to speed up dispatch of U.N. Palestine Commission or at least of U.N. observer.

Neuville agreed to inform his government of deteriorating security situation and to transmit Berman's request for U.N. observer. In his view, British did not intend to leave country, there was no possibility of Jews reaching settlement with them, and Jews would have difficulty in bringing in arms as long as British were present. He advised that Jews should draw international attention to conflict between King Abdallah and Mufti, Haj Amin al-Husseini.

Neuville had opposed proposal to have foreign consuls meet weekly to discuss situation, because Arab consuls could not be asked to attend and because of unwillingness to discuss situation with East European representatives. He is meeting regularly with Belgian and American consuls. [Last part of document, reporting on information received from French Consul-General about attitudes of American Consul-General (Robert Macatee) and Belgian Consul-General (Jean Nieuwenhuys) is not printed here].

66. A. Eban (New York) to M. Shertok (New York). 21 December [1947]

Eban relates further details of conversation with John Hood, President of Security Council for month of December: 1) Hood believes that attendance of Jewish representatives at Council when Palestine question comes up for discussion is certain; 2) Hood again stressed importance of pressing for formation of U.N. Palestine Commission before January 1948, when Argentina would replace Brazil on Council. Eban pointed out that access to President would become more difficult after Hood's replacement on 1 January.

85. Meeting: G. Meyerson — Sir Henry Gurney (Jerusalem, 29 December 1947. Document dated 31 December 1947)

Report by Golda Meyerson. Gurney had asked her to meet him because High Commissioner was unable to receive her.

Gurney said Government would not be able to enforce law and order as long as Jewish attacks on Arabs continued.

G. Meyerson said that Dissidents (i.e., the I.Z.L. and Lehi), and thereafter also the Haganah, had abandoned policy of restraint in view of continued Arab attacks and Government inaction. She was increasingly inclined to accept opinion widely held by Jews, according to which British Government welcomed difficulties and bloodshed in order to demonstrate that partition could not be implemented. She complained that measures taken by authorities to protect Jewish transport were inadequate and ineffective, that Jewish Settlement Police was refused permission to use armoured cars on roads, and that arms

were being confiscated from Jews on pretext that they were the attackers. She said Government was giving wide publicity to measures taken against Jews, while steps taken against Arabs — according to Gurney — were being kept secret.

Gurney replied that instructions had been issued not to confiscate weapons used in defence, but admitted that it was not always easy to distinguish between attackers and defenders. He promised favourable reply to Jewish Agency's request for permission to increase personnel of Jewish Settlement Police. Gurney criticized Jewish system of organizing car convoys with armed escorts and complained that Jewish Agency official had instructed Jewish employees of government health services to stop work. (G. Meyerson replied that Jewish Agency had merely announced that it could not be responsible for safety of employees in view of murder of Jewish doctor in Arab village near Jerusalem). Gurney also said that he had received undertaking from Moslem Supreme Council and Arab Higher Committee that Arabs would not keep weapons in Old City of Jerusalem. When G. Meyerson remarked that he should not give credence to such declarations, Gurney replied that he trusted Moslem Supreme Council, though not Arab Higher Committee.

86. D. Ben-Gurion: Report of D. Horowitz. 31 December 1947

Horowitz reports on talks in London with A. Creech Jones and J.M. Martin (Colonial Office), H. Beeley (Foreign Office), L. Jones (American Embassy), R. Crossman and J. Kimche; and on talks between Nahum Goldmann and H. McNeil (Foreign Office) and Col. Charteris (War Office).

According to report, Foreign Office believes Jews can reach agreement with leaders of Arab countries, but Mufti [Haj Amin al-Husseini] enjoys strong support among masses. Foreign Secretary Bevin foresees no large-scale intervention by neighbouring countries, but Creech Jones fears prolonged guerilla warfare and has urged Cabinet to assist Jews and to facilitate partition. British advised Arab states to show patience and moderation. Beeley and associates hostile to Jewish cause; Beeley believes fighting will result in reduction in area of Jewish state.

Martin revealed that British withdrawal would proceed from south to north. Creech Jones explained reasons for British opposition to

immediate arrival of U.N. Palestine Commission. He and McNeil suggested discussions between Commission and British representatives in New York, which might lead to British concessions, e.g. on availability of Tel Aviv port for Jewish immigration and on question of Cyprus detainees.

In preparation for talks between Palestine Commission and British, following points should be elaborated: Provisional Council of Government, supply of arms and food, opening of port to immigration, maintenance of *status quo* with regard to Palestine currency.

British have obtained minutes of meetings of Jewish Agency Executive.

90. E. Danin to E. Sasson. 4 January 1948

Report on conversation with M. Shertok [referred to throughout as "B.K.", abbreviated form of Ben-Kedem, his literary pseudonym] and David Horowitz. Danin reports on plan attributed to Brigadier I.N. Clayton [in charge of Arab League affairs at British Embassy, Cairo], involving partial British disengagement from Transjordan. Arab League reported to have agreed to finance Arab Legion, which would occupy the whole of Palestine. Jews would then be offered a settlement on lines of Morrison Plan [See No. 163, note 2]. Arab plan probably has British backing, if it has not actually originated with them.

It has been suggested that Jews should explain to King Abdallah that by adopting this plan he would bring about his own ruin. Instead, he should seek collaboration with Jews, who would aid him in gaining control of Arab part of Palestine and would try to obtain financial and diplomatic support for his country.

Shertok discussed ways and means of securing financial support for Transjordan and expressed view that Jewish support of Abdallah would be advisable, provided that King could be trusted. In that case, Soviet and American support for the suggested settlement could probably be obtained. Horowitz stressed the advantages of a peaceful settlement with King Abdallah — he doubted whether Jews would be able to withstand major onslaught — but he feared deceit on the part of Abdallah.

Shertok inquired about strength and attitude of Arab opposition to the Husseinis in Palestine, and whether any Arabs would agree to partition. To first question Danin replied that rivalry between opposition and Husseinis persisted, but opposition was weak and unlikely

to consolidate unless attacked or pending active intervention by King Abdallah. To second question Danin replied that the Arab masses seemed to have reluctantly accepted partition, although they feared Jewish rule. Their military campaign would peter out unless Arab countries intervened.

99. H. Berman (Jerusalem) to R. Zaslani. 9 January 1948

Berman reports decision to inform newspaper editors of desirability of maintaining friendly attitude towards Rumania in press, in view of good relations between Jewish emissaries and Rumanian authorities.

100. E. Sasson (Jerusalem) to King Abdallah (Amman). 11 January 1948

Sasson makes following points:

Despite Jewish appeals to end fighting, Palestine Arabs, egged on by a despotic leadership, are continuing savage, indiscriminate attacks, encouraged by Arab press and radio in Palestine and abroad, with financial, moral and political support of Arab governments.

Transjordan has done nothing to end bloodshed in Palestine, either because it approves violence or because it is unable to prevent it.

Jews do not wish to see Palestine become battlefield or scene of intrigues engineered from either East or West.

Jews consider Abdallah a loyal friend and high-minded personality. Actually, an agreement has been achieved between him and Jews regarding peaceful solution.

Schemes being hatched in East and West are designed to embroil Transjordan with Jews, thus weakning both. Such a scheme is being prepared in London by Arab personalities, Brigadier Clayton and officials of Foreign and Colonial Offices. Reported suggestion that Arab League finance Arab Legion reflects similar intentions.

Counterplot, prepared by Mufti, Haj Amin al-Husseini, is aimed at establishing a Palestine Arab Government, thus preventing Transjordan from annexing Arab part of Palestine.

Palestine Arabs are undergoing extreme hardships and are looking to Abdallah for relief. King should act quickly, before opportunity is irretrievably lost.

Jews have so far used only small portion of their strength and are still hoping for peaceful settlement; their political position has not changed. They are determined to resist savage onslaught led by Haj Amin al-Husseini and supported by Arab countries; if it comes to all-out war, Jews will carry fighting beyond borders of Palestine.

Efforts of Jewish representatives in U.S.A. and U.N. to build up political support for Abdallah are close to success.

M. Shertok has visited Palestine recently and has discussed: speedy implementation of agreement with Abdallah, international political and financial support for Transjordan, seizure of Arab part of Palestine by Transjordan without provoking opposition of Security Council. [See summary of Document No. 90, p. 11].

Meeting with King or with intermediary to discuss situation is urgently required.

139. Meeting: Rabbi I. Halevi Herzog — Sir Henry Gurney (Jerusalem, 26 January 1948)

Conversation centred on problem of Jerusalem's Old City. Rabbi Herzog opened with a complaint that High Commissioner's refusal to grant audience to Chief Rabbis was unprecedented. He went on to describe attachment of Jews to Old City and Wailing Wall within it. Jews in Old City were being besieged by Arabs, and were threatened with starvation and violence. It was inconceivable that British should be unable to end siege and restore order. Gurney argued that Jews had caused Arabs to impose siege by throwing bombs near Damascus Gate, to which Rabbi Herzog replied that siege had preceded that incident. Gurney admitted that British were able to break the siege but said that Government wished to avoid bloodshed. Instead, Haganah and Dissidents [i.e., the I.Z.L. and Lehi] should be withdrawn from Old City because their mere presence provoked Arabs. Gurney told Rabbi Herzog to convey warning to Jewish leadership: if Jews renewed hostilities, Government would not be responsible for results. Rabbi Herzog said that Jews could not rely on good faith of Arab Higher Committee, which was headed by Mufti, a bloodthirsty murderer and collaborator with Hitler. He suggested meeting between Jewish and Moslem religious leaders to negotiate cease-fire; if it was observed for considerable period of time, he would recommend withdrawal of Jewish forces from Old City. To Gurney's statement that

Arabs wanted quiet in Old City, and his warning that British would not be answerable for results of Jewish attacks, Rabbi Herzog replied that the Jews could not be expected to observe cease-fire while Old City was being blockaded, unless it was for short period required to prepare negotiations. Rabbi Herzog accused British of allowing Arabs to attack Jews and restricting Jews to defence. Gurney subsequently reiterated his view that Jewish forces should be withdrawn from Old City because, he maintained, the principal guarantee for safety of Jewish population was presence of British army, and local Jews did not even want Haganah units stationed there. Rabbi Herzog denied this, and declared that Jews could not entrust their safety to British and that after two thousand years of exile and murder of six million of their brethren, they were determined to defend their lives.

149. Meeting: R. Rosenberg — V. Fox-Strangways (Document dated 28 January 1948)

In the course of chance meeting Fox-Strangways remarked that Jewish Agency officials were apparently avoiding him, whereupon Rosenberg assured him that he was regarded as one of the few Government officials responsive to Jewish point of view. Fox-Strangways then complained that British officials were being unfairly criticized, especially by Jewish press. Government's work was being complicated by multiplicity of Jewish authorities, which were often dealing concurrently with same questions.

190. G. Ruffer [New York] to Z. Sharef. 10 February 1948

Ruffer reports on situation in United States with reference to Palestine. There is growing tendency in favour of revision of U.N. decisions. Secretary of Defence James Forrestal has privately expressed strong opposition to partition plan, which, he believes, is endangering vital American oil interests. He is reported to have suggested that another territory be found for Jewish Displaced Persons or, alternatively, that they be allowed to immigrate into U.S.A. He thought Arabs would consent to Jewish Vatican-like state in Palestine.

Ruffer reports on conversation of friend with Secretary of State Marshall, who said there would be no change in American policy on

Palestine; U.S. would follow lead of U.N.; Jewish military performance disappointing and gave cause for concern; he opposed international force manned by major powers; lower-echelon talks were going on in London between American and British representatives, but no agreement reached.

David Niles told Eliahu Epstein that Truman was not considering policy change. Loy Henderson told Epstein that U.S. had warned two Arab states against aggression. [On the representations made by Henderson to diplomatic representatives of Syria, Lebanon and Iraq see FRUS, 1948, V, pp. 616–17].

In talk with M. Shertok and A.H. Silver, Trygve Lie accused British of trying to sabotage U.N. decision, and stressed his determination to fight for its implementation. If partition fell through, he would resign.

British have invited U.N. Palestine Commission to London. Jewish representatives will urge it to agree to visit England on its way to Palestine once date of its arrival there is fixed.

204. Memorandum by Z. Lifshitz. [*ca.* 15 February 1948]

Lifshitz, who left New York for Palestine on 11 February 1948, had been requested by Shertok to report on political developments. Following is summary of oral report delivered to Ben-Gurion and Kaplan.

State Department from start had grave misgivings about U.N. partition resolution, especially with regard to allotment of southern Negev to Jewish State. State Department officials expressed view that U.S. endorsement of U.N. decision had been serious error and that State Department could not be responsible for decisions arrived at under pressure of American Jews and in disregard of American interests. The report goes on to describe Forrestal's inimical attitude. [See summary of Document No. 190, p. 14]. A current rumour among American officials is that Soviet Union is indoctrinating masses of Jews who will later be sent to Palestine in order to establish Communist regime in Jewish State. All this arouses concern lest complete revision of U.S. policy is being sought.

In order to counter adverse views, steps have been taken to arouse public opinion, mobilize party leaders, and exert pressure on President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall. Bernard Baruch has seen

Marshall and Forrestal, but with little result, though Marshall seemed more concerned than Forrestal by possible effect of problem on future of U.N. Marshall was also less impressed than Lovett by British propaganda concerning infiltration of Jewish Communists into Palestine. Referring to Marshall's disappointment with Jewish military performance [see summary of Document No. 190, p. 14], the report quotes caution by Shertok that this should not be interpreted as suggesting that Jews ought to take firmer hand against Arabs.

Lovett is adamant about American arms embargo and rejected Jewish argument that it did not distinguish between aggressors and defenders, because, he maintained, Arabs were also defending their country.

Forrestal is trying to win over Senators Vandenberg and Taft for bi-partisan policy on Palestine which would deprive Zionists of possibility of using [Jewish] vote to influence parties' positions.

As to planned establishment of Jewish and Arab militias, Henderson hinted that U.S. would be willing to supply equipment. U.N. Assistant Secretary-General A. Sobolev now holds that Palestine Commission can request equipment directly from U.N. member states, and not necessarily through Security Council.

Recently Jewish pressure in U.S. has apparently persuaded Forrestal of improbability of immediate radical change in American policy, and has made him more favourably inclined to partition if it was accompanied by mutual concessions and postponement of British evacuation from Palestine, or at least from Haifa and Jerusalem. Shertok regards this as indication of British desire to remain in both places.

On question of international military force, Truman opposes involvement of American forces, but is prepared to offer American aid to force recruited from small nations. Forrestal and Marshall oppose latter suggestion because they fear Soviet infiltration through units of satellite countries.

Members of Working Committee on Jerusalem wish to extend borders of international zone to north and south; Jewish representatives have considered whether to suggest further extension in order to include Jewish settlements south and west of Jerusalem, but have decided not to raise issue because of danger of reopening whole question of partition in General Assembly.

Report goes on to describe attitude of Trygve Lie. [Cf. summary of Document No. 190, p. 14]. Lie supports international force of Great Powers, which will be more effective than one composed of

units of small countries. He does not believe Soviets will use it to get permanent foothold in Palestine. Specific points agreed with Lie are: importance of immediate dispatch to Palestine of group of officials and experts on behalf of U.N. Commission; pressure on British to allow early arrival of Commission; urgent negotiations on formation of Jewish Provisional Council of Government; urgency of measures to establish International Zone of Jerusalem; need to press Security Council to establish international force and help secure arms for Jewish militia.

As to U.N. Palestine Commission — Jewish point of view is supported by Latin American members and usually also by Philippine member. Danish member pro-British. Chairman (Lisicky, Czechoslovakia), while basically pro-British, wishes to achieve full implementation of U.N. resolution. He, too, has expressed disappointment with poor military showing of Jews; Commission attaches much importance to international force, but if not established, will probably try to achieve end through Jewish militia.

British will presumably strive to cause stalemate in Security Council, leading to reconvening of General Assembly, where they will propose revision of November resolution.

Shertok met Gromyko, who inquired about prospects of bringing arms and military equipment into Palestine and seemed taken aback by information concerning Czechoslovak arms sales to Arabs and Yugoslav reluctance to allow transportation of arms bought by Jews through Yugoslavia. Though Gromyko stressed Soviet insistence on implementation of U.N. resolution, he was vague about future Soviet attitude in Security Council on question of small power international force or supply of arms to such force or to militia. No Soviet support can be expected in Trusteeship Council on question of Jerusalem because of Soviet refusal to attend Council's meetings.

225. N. Goldmann [New York] to E. Kaplan. 25 February [1948]

Confidential report on political situation: Jewish representatives making no headway in Washington; U.N. Palestine Commission not functioning properly; there will be no international military force; new Security Council committee proposed by U.S. [see Editorial Note, pp. 93–4] will probably seek compromise settlement involving restrictions on Jewish immigration or change of frontiers or federation; British

genuinely intend to withdraw from Palestine, though Americans want them to stay on.

228. D. Ben-Gurion (Tel Aviv) to M. Shertok (New York). 27 February 1948

Ben-Gurion informs Shertok that: 1) he does not share latter's doubts about Jewish military ability to secure establishment of Jewish state; 2) determining factor is military equipment, not political manoeuvres; if Jews receive equipment in time, they will be able to beat Syrians in own country and gain control of all territory assigned to Jewish state.

251. Meeting: L. Kohn—R.M. Graves (Jerusalem, 4 March 1948)

Graves [Chairman of Jerusalem Municipal Commission] gave written statement [entitled "Peace Project for Jerusalem" — see Main Volume, p. 422] to Kohn for Ben-Gurion. Another copy had been given to Hussein al-Khalidi, [Secretary of Arab Higher Committee]. Kohn said he found several of the proposals acceptable but objected to article H. Kohn brought up problem of Jerusalem's water supply and presence of 600 Iraqi troops at Jerusalem's main source near Rosh Ha'ayin (Ras el-Ein).

258. Report by R. Zaslani. 7 March 1948

Zaslani reports on visit to London, object of which has been to find out about British plans concerning Palestine, to apprise key personalities of situation there, and try to win support for Jewish cause.

British Cabinet does not intend to sabotage partition and wants to withdraw with minimal losses and maximal Arab sympathy. Middle East experts object to strong Jewish state which will, they believe, prevent realization of plans for collective military alliance between Great Britain and Arab world. But they do not have support of Cabinet; thus British at instigation of High Commissioner and General MacMillan, have transmitted warning to Arab States through Brigadier Clayton.

Clayton influential in bringing about cancellation of British support for solution through King Abdallah. He advocates friendship with Syria. British material support for Arab military efforts seems extremely limited. British military aware of uselessness of agreements with Arabs, but have not yet recognized Jews as significant and reliable force. In general, there is much ignorance of real situation and potential dangers of British policy. There is urgent need for more personnel and concerted effort to explain Jewish point of view and mobilize support.

267. Meeting: L. Kohn, Y. Behar — V. Fox-Strangways (Jerusalem, 9 March 1948)

Report on meeting called by Fox-Strangways to discuss tentative arrangement for transfer of Jewish detainees from Cyprus to Palestine. He emphasized that there was no intention to approve immediate release of detainees beyond the numbers and categories already authorized, but plans for transfer of remainder could be made for period following 15 May. Release of immigrant ships [*Pan York* and *Pan Crescent*, then at Cyprus] for this purpose was being contemplated.

Other questions discussed at meeting were: Jewish request for immigration permits for Afghan Jews and Jewish orphans at Aden, and stalemate in Jerusalem truce negotiations.

268. W. Eytan [Jerusalem] to Editors of Jewish newspapers in Palestine. [*ca.* 10 March 1948]

Editors requested to keep press coverage of activities of U.N. Palestine Commission's Advance Party to minimum, in view of delicate nature of Party's mission and in accordance with express wish of its head, P. Azcarate.

273. E. Sasson and H. Berman (Jerusalem): Outlines of a policy toward the Arab States. 13 March 1948

This memorandum (labelled top secret) comprises: (1) Proposals, and (2) A Plan.

Proposals call for immediate establishment of Jewish liaison bureaus in Paris, Istanbul, and New Delhi, whose functions will be to promote and maintain direct contacts with representatives of Arab states with view to eventual political settlement. Bureaus will also collect information on Arab world, and issue information and propaganda brochures for distribution in Arab countries.

Plan envisages: establishment of Jewish state and Arab state within boundaries laid down in U.N. resolution; two states will sign long-term agreements on cooperation in economic, political, and military matters; two states will join U.N. and coordinate their policy there; two states will consult together before entering agreements with third parties; two states will renounce all plans for expansion of their respective territories; two states will endeavour to observe neutrality in case of international disputes; two states will declare their wish to join Arab League; Jewish state will declare its consent to industrial coordination with Arab states and its readiness to assist in development of Arab industry; Jewish state will not support one Arab state against another; Jewish state will coordinate its propaganda in West with that of Arab states, and two states will undertake to combat foreign propaganda in their respective areas; two states will be willing in future to study possible frontier revision; Jewish state will grant full equality to its Arab citizens and will pass no law which offends their religious, cultural, or social traditions or threatens their landed property holdings. Should Arab citizens object to any law, Jewish state will abide by decision of Arab League Secretariat.

[Comments by several officials of Jewish Agency Political Department are appended to Sasson–Berman plan: below are excerpts from comments of Y. Shimoni and W. Eytan. (For original Hebrew text see Editorial Note after No. 273, Main Volume, p. 458).

Y. Shimoni writes that under prevailing conditions there is little likelihood of fruitful talks with Arabs, except with King Abdallah, at least as long as there is no decisive change in diplomatic or military situation. Shimoni criticizes Sasson–Berman plan for implied despair of reaching agreement with Abdallah, and states that Jewish side is to blame for failure to keep up contacts with King. He recommends that contacts with Fawzi Qawuqji be promoted and those with King Abdallah renewed. This, combined with possible contacts with Arab representatives in New York, seems more promising than "diplomatic attempts in distant capitals."

W. Eytan considers political proposals generally sound, but doubts wisdom of according Arab League decisive say in disputes between Jewish state and its Arab citizens. Eytan suggests that Turkey, and possibly France, might mediate between Arabs and Jews, though for the moment French policy is too unstable.]

274. D. Ben-Gurion (Tel Aviv) to M. Shertok and G. Meyerson (New York). 14 March 1948

Ben-Gurion reports that efforts to set up Provisional Council of Government have led to increased internal friction. He summarizes demands put forward by various parties. In his own party, Mapai, a majority opposes his demands that Golda Meyerson be chosen to join Government and that he remain outside yet continue to be in charge of security.

As to general political and military situation, Ben-Gurion writes that Colonel Roscher Lund's appraisal that British wanted Jews of Palestine annihilated may be somewhat exaggerated, though not far from truth. This conclusion is based on events in Palestine and on statements of Colonial Secretary Creech Jones and Attorney-General Sir Hartley Shawcross in House of Commons. [For Creech Jones's statement see No. 270, note 4; for extract from Shawcross' statement see English quotation on pp. 461-2 of Main Volume]. Ben-Gurion quotes Lund's view as to three conditions on which Jews' future depends [see No. 261, Main Volume, p. 436], adding that crucial moment may arrive before 15 May and that after termination of Mandate, British army may continue to wield unlimited power in Jewish area on pretext of defending its lines of communication. In this context he mentions Cadogan's statement in New York [see No. 270, note 3]. Ben-Gurion holds that there is only one remedy against arbitrary British military rule after 15 May, namely recognition of Jewish Government by U.N. and U.S.A.; there is only one way of warding off danger of annihilation: timely supply of required equipment. Essential that it be understood that not only fate of U.N. resolution but physical survival of Jews of Palestine is at stake.

316. S. Langnas (Warsaw) to the Jewish Agency Executive, Palestine. 25 March 1948

On 20 March Langnas [Head of Immigration Bureau of Jewish Agency in Warsaw] met with Stefan Wierblowski of Foreign Ministry and discussed emigration of Jews from Poland to Palestine and France, with reference to statement made by Minister Olszewsky on 19 December 1947. [See No. 72]. Wierblowski said that Polish Government would not terminate emigration on 1 April, but that in future preferential treatment accorded to Polish Jews might be discontinued. Nevertheless, Government would show full understanding for special undertakings, i.e., recruitment [of Jewish youth for defence duties in Palestine].

319. Memorandum by W. Eytan, A. Levavi, C.V. Herzog, H. Berman and E. Sasson. [Jerusalem]. 26 March 1948

Memorandum summarizes discussion held by authors (members of Political Department of Jewish Agency) on 24–5 March 1948. The main conclusions are:

1) There is little likelihood of Jews being able to overcome Arab world by force of arms. Unfriendly neutrality of Western powers will favour Arabs, and relations between Jews and U.S.A. might deteriorate. This might result in annihilation of large part of Jewish population of Palestine. Therefore ways must be sought to avoid creation of such situation by political means.

2) Political action must be directed at Western powers and at Arab states. Possibilities of intervention by Eastern bloc at present limited, and if latter extends aid to Jews, U.S.A. might support Arabs. Nevertheless, contacts between [left-wing] Jewish opposition and Communist countries must not be completely discouraged.

3) As for action with regard to Arab states, authors refer to political plan outlined in No. 273. [See summary, p. 19]. Search for peaceful solution must never be abandoned.

4) As for Western powers, Jews must not burn their bridges. While insisting on right and urgency of establishing Jewish state, Jews should avoid all-out confrontation over attempts to delay recognition of Jewish sovereignty, coupled with establishment of temporary regime which will enable Jews to strengthen components of sovereignty in fields of immigration, defence, administration and economy.

5) Military preparations must be intensified, with aim of establishing state as early as possible, and bearing in mind possible failure of political efforts. At same time administrative apparatus of future state must be built up.
6) Military planning must provide for possibility of all-out war against Arab world.

328. E. Sasson [Jerusalem] to D. Ben-Gurion, G. Meyerson and E. Kaplan. 30 March 1948

Sasson expresses view that talks with Arabs can lead to satisfactory result if undertaken before [Special Session of] U.N. General Assembly, which will in itself provide no solution. In his opinion, Arab League favours peaceful settlement and King Abdallah may be co-operative. Sasson suggests that Shertok explain position to Americans; he himself is prepared to go to U.S.A.

344. I. Ben-Zvi [Jerusalem] to members of the Jewish Agency Executive. [5 April 1948]

Ben-Zvi calls for acceptance of High Commissioner's call for cease-fire [broadcast on 3 April], in order to save Jewish Jerusalem from destruction. Ben-Zvi describes situation in Jerusalem in sombre terms. City has been cut off for ten days, Jewish Quarter in Old City is under siege, while southern and northern outskirts are holding out with difficulty. Demoralization is spreading among considerable sections of Jewish population. Arabs do not want cease-fire, but British are in favour for humanitarian and political reasons, and for considerations of prestige. Cease-fire is essential pending political decision by U.N. General Assembly.

363. Meeting: H. Berman — R. Neuville (Document dated 8 April 1948)

French Consul-General Neuville criticized Jewish handling of struggle against Arabs. While Arabs had revealed superb organizational talents and achieved impressive propaganda successes, Jews were in-

capable of putting their efficient intelligence service to good use and of conducting psychological warfare. Jewish leadership had proved its worth in times of peace but was not fit to conduct a war. Jews had not been prepared for war and might be unable to repulse Arab onslaught. Absence of agreement with Dissidents (i.e., the I.Z.L. and Lehi) illustrated failure to adapt to wartime conditions. Line taken by Shertok was damaging to Jewish cause.

Neuville expressed doubts as to sincerity of British intention to leave Palestine. He and his colleagues in Middle East had been trying in vain to convince French Government of Jewish–French community of interests. Paris had not accepted his advice that France sell heavy arms to Jews.

376. The Jewish Agency [Jerusalem] to King Abdallah (Amman). 12 April 1948

Jewish Agency conveys to King a summary of its statement concerning the Deir Yasin action. [See Editorial Note, p. 126].

King is informed that statement condemned action as barbaric and inconsistent with spirit of Jewish people. Though similar deeds had been committed by Arabs in recent months, these could not justify barbarities on the part of Jews. Statement ended with appeal to all parties that conflict, if it could not be avoided altogether, be conducted according to rules of civilised warfare. [For full English text of statement see C.Z.A. S25/4150].

[See reply of Chief of Royal Cabinet, of 12 April 1948, C.Z.A. S25/9038; Hebrew translation in S25/5634. The reply declares it to be a well-known fact that Jewish Agency is in charge of all Zionist activities and that no Jew undertakes any action in contravention of its policy. Deir Yasin affair, it warns, might foil attempts to conclude an armistice. The telegram conveys King Abdallah's confidence that Jewish Agency will undertake necessary action in relation to these deeds, and his warning that I.Z.L. and others should consider consequences of their actions.]

388. D. Ben-Gurion (Tel Aviv) to M. Shertok (New York). 16 April 1948

Ben-Gurion relates that military situation has changed radically in favour of Jews. Jews are in control of Jerusalem hills and road from capital to coastal plain. Giant convoys are being organized to supply city. Jewish forces in Jerusalem have been reinforced. Qawuqji's forces have been routed near Mishmar Ha'emek [Valley of Jezreel] and further successes are anticipated if there is no intervention by British army or Arab Legion.

Ben-Gurion expresses agreement with Shertok's criticism of truce proposal [see Editorial Note, p. 86 and No. 382], which he assumes to have been drafted by British Foreign Office. According to Ben-Gurion, most dangerous points in proposal are: article providing for control of truce by Palestine Government and veiled ban on immigration of adults.

Ben-Gurion concludes with observation that fate of Palestine Jews depends on arrival of equipment rather than on developments at Lake Success.

406. E. Sasson [Jerusalem] to Chief of the Royal Cabinet, Amman. 22 April 1948

[Telegram alludes to statement by King Abdallah published in press on the same day, in which he declared that as result of events in Deir Yasin, Haifa and Tiberias, he had lost hope of peaceful solution and that he was ready to defend Palestine. Jews could still settle dispute by accepting home rule in Jewish areas of Arab Palestinian state.]

Sasson requests transmission of message to King Abdallah to the effect that peace and understanding in Middle East will not be achieved by threats, but only by negotiations aimed at securing rights and independence of both Arabs and Jews. Sasson offers his services to this end.

[In his reply (dated 23 April 1948, C.Z.A. S25/9038), Chief of Royal Cabinet informs Sasson that there is nothing in telegram to justify its submission to King. He goes on to repeat main points of King's statement.]

409. Meeting: H. Berman—R. Neuville (Jerusalem, 24 April 1948)

Berman reports on informal meeting with French Consul-General Neuville, held at latter's request following appointment of Consular Truce Commission by Security Council. [See Editorial Note, p. 136].

Neuville described demoralization in Arab camp following events of Deir Yasin, Tiberias and Haifa. Arabs were now more inclined to discuss truce. Neuville envisaged a period of negotiations lasting two to three months, followed by a truce of six to twelve months. He enumerated tentative truce terms: 1) standstill in Old City of Jerusalem; 2) Haganah and Qawuqji's forces to remain in present positions; 3) Arab Legion to be withdrawn; 4) ban on entry of armed forces and of persons capable of bearing arms; (following Berman's declaration that Jews could not accept last-mentioned condition, Neuville suggested continued Jewish immigration of 1500 persons per month as well as immigration of all Cyprus detainees within truce period); 5) possible return of Arab villages captured by Haganah; 6) Jews to refrain from pressing their right to establish new settlements; 7) ban on importation of arms and military equipment. Commission will have at its disposal large international staff to supervise truce and will constitute government of country.

Neuville said Jews would be well advised to accept truce in order to secure international support and consolidate their strength. Yet he doubted possibility of effective arrangement in view of hostile attitude of Great Britain.

Neuville and Berman agreed that Jewish State, together with Christian Lebanon, could form strong French bulwark in region. Neuville regretted that Paris was unwilling to listen to opinion of its representatives in Middle East in this respect.

412. H. Berman (Jerusalem) to E. Kaplan. 25 April 1948

Berman met with Belgian Consul-General Nieuwenhuys in order to sound him about Consular Truce Commission. He reports on two noteworthy points:

1) Unconditional cease-fire must be prelude to truce, which Jews will not be able to accept unless certain essential conditions are satisfied.

2) Truce Commission will in all probability be unable to effect compromise between Arab and Jewish positions. Prospects may improve slightly if British really evacuate most of Palestine on 15 May.

Nieuwenhuys suggested Benelux administration of Lydda airport. Later on same day, it was reported that British had handed over airport to Arabs. Nieuwenhuys thereupon telephoned Berman and suggested that he might be able to persuade Arabs to hand it over to neutral administration. (He now suggested Belgium, Holland, Sweden and Switzerland).

420. C.V. Herzog [Jerusalem] to D. Ben-Gurion. 27 April 1948

Reports on meeting with General MacMillan [G.O.C. British forces in Palestine], on 26 April. Main points were: 1) Jews had freedom of action on Tel Aviv–Jerusalem road; 2) Arab Legion was being rapidly withdrawn from Palestine; 3) King Abdallah had told MacMillan that he was concerned about fate of Holy Places and wanted peace; 4) Planes stationed in Amman were British; there was no Transjordanian air force.

MacMillan was impressed by Jewish conduct in Haifa. He wished to meet Haganah commanders in order to discuss British evacuation.

[According to detailed report on meeting (C.Z.A. S25/5634), MacMillan said that he wanted evacuation to proceed smoothly and rapidly, and wished to explain this to the Jewish commanders.]

421. Meeting: Representatives of the Jewish Agency —Consular Truce Commission (Jerusalem, 27 April 1948)

Present: E. Kaplan; L. Kohn; H. Berman; Consuls-General of Belgium, France and United States; Col. Roscher Lund (acting as personal representative of U.N. Secretary-General in Palestine).
Chairman: Belgian Consul-General.

Chairman explained that Commission wanted to be informed of Jewish conditions for truce.

Kaplan (representing Jewish Agency Chairman) and Kohn informed Commission of negotiations with High Commissioner in regard to his cease-fire proposal. [See Nos. 353, 369]. Kaplan said Jews would accept cease-fire on two conditions: 1) freedom of movement on roads vital to Jews; 2) freedom of access to [Jewish quarter of] Old City of Jerusalem. Jewish conditions for truce were: 1) withdrawal

and exclusion of foreign armed units from Palestine; 2) there must be no connection between truce and question of immigration. Furthermore, Jews would not undertake to refrain from political activity.

In reply to Chairman's question — whether Jews would give preference to immigrants who had undergone military training — Kaplan replied that composition of immigration would be normal, including many women and children. Jews would not accept any restrictions on immigration.

449. M. Shertok [New York] to R. Zaslani. 1 May 1948

[In the original telegram proper names are represented by code names.]

Reports conversation with British Colonial Secretary Creech Jones. The latter rejected trusteeship idea, foresaw troubles as result of establishment of Jewish state, but implied that Jews would be able to overcome them. He said British wanted to prevent invasions [of Palestine] because they feared major conflagration, refuted Jewish suspicions of British designs, and assured Shertok that King Abdallah would be content with Arab part of Palestine. British were making considerable efforts to restrain Arab states. Creech Jones said Jews should not fear Iraq, which was rent by internal dissensions. He stated British were being hampered by events in Tiberias, Haifa and Jaffa [see Editorial Note, p. 134; No. 411, note 2], and implored Shertok that Jews should not take Jaffa.

Shertok notes that: 1) conversation took place before recent events in Jerusalem [i.e., occupation of Qatamon quarter by Jews]; 2) Creech Jones did not refer to question of borders; 3) British were impressed by Jewish military achievements; 4) they may wish to stay on in Jerusalem.

[About this meeting see also No. 483, Main Volume, pp. 758-9].

465. Meeting: H. Berman—J. Nieuwenhuys (Jerusalem, 3 May 1948. Document dated 4 May 1948)

Berman reports about a meeting with the Belgian Consul-General, Nieuwenhuys, concerning proposed truce in Jerusalem, in anticipation of scheduled meeting between Consular Truce Commis-

sion and Secretary-General of Arab League Azzam Pasha, in Jericho. Meeting had been arranged through British Minister in Amman and Chief Secretary of Palestine Government.

Nieuwenhuys had misgivings about meeting. He feared British scheming — the Commission felt that British wanted to restrict its activity to Jerusalem and prevent it from working for a general truce in Palestine.

Berman pointed out that Jews could accept Jerusalem truce only if communications as well as water and electricity supplies were restored. Nieuwenhuys noted that British seemed to envisage continuation of siege during truce. Berman also warned Nieuwenhuys not to be taken in by Azzam Pasha's ostensible moderation.

Nieuwenhuys had met "the General" [MacMillan], who had spoken in derogatory terms about Arabs' military performance.

Nieuwenhuys, like the French Consul-General on earlier occasion, said Husseinis had made a mistake in that they had not attempted to come to an agreement with Truce Commission, thus worsting both British and King Abdallah.

466. L. Kohn (Jerusalem) to D. Ben-Gurion. 4 May 1948

Kohn forwards Red Cross plan for establishment of Jerusalem security zone under Red Cross protection.

[For text of draft plan, dated 5 May 1948, see file 134/778/2. Main provisions are: 1) Arab and Jewish zones to consist of areas held by Arab and Jewish forces respectively; 2) each zone to be administered by its civilian authorities; 3) zones to be demilitarized and order to be maintained by civilian police; 4) food and passenger convoys to and from Old City to be arranged; 5) food and fuel supplies to be transported to Jerusalem under Red Cross flag; 6) water pipeline supplying Jerusalem to be under Red Cross protection; 7) agreement to be in force as long as hostilities continue, unless abrogated by mutual consent.]

Kohn reports that Red Cross representative is confident of attaining consent of all parties.

Plan has not yet been discussed by Jewish side. Kohn notes that it may lead to actual partition of Jerusalem and inclusion [of Jewish part] in Jewish state, to which it would be linked through international corridor.

475. Meeting: G. Meyerson, E. Kaplan—Sir Alan Cunningham (Jerusalem, 6 May 1948)

High Commissioner Sir Alan Cunningham raised issue of truce in Old City of Jerusalem, in respect of which he was acting as mediator on behalf of Security Council. [See No. 456, note 1]. He considered Red Cross plan for general truce in Jerusalem impracticable. [See summary of Document No. 466, p. 29]. The High Commissioner had received Arab League proposals for truce in Old City through Moslem Supreme Council. They provided for protection of Holy Places, guarantee for security of Jewish population and free access to Wailing Wall. Kaplan declared that free road "from Tel Aviv to Wailing Wall" was indispensable condition. High Commissioner replied that this would be unacceptable to Arabs.

High Commissioner stated that arrival of British reinforcements improved Government's ability to enforce order, and warned Jews against offensive operations in Jerusalem before end of Mandate.

485. L. Kohn [Jerusalem] to D. Ben-Gurion, G. Meyerson and E. Kaplan. [9(?) May 1948]

Kohn communicates Palestine Government proposal for truce in Jerusalem. [See English text of draft truce agreement in C.Z.A. S25/9390. According to attached note, dated 9 May 1948, draft was confidential. It was made public on 12 May and officially transmitted to Kohn on same day — see notation on additional copy in C.Z.A. S25/5176]. Proposed terms are: 1) "Jerusalem" to mean town planning area; 2) hostilities in truce area to cease; 3) no arms or warlike stores to be brought into Jerusalem; 4) essential civilian supplies to be brought into Jerusalem under supervision of an impartial body; 5) at least one of main roads leading into Jerusalem to be open for transportation of essential supplies, but no substantial increase in Arab or Jewish populations to be allowed, nor any exchange of populations calculated to increase military strength of either side; 6) free access to and from Jewish Quarter of Old City through Zion Gate, where checkpoint of impartial body will prevent introduction of arms; 7) evacuation of Qatamon quarter by Jews; 8) all disputes concerning truce terms to be decided by impartial body.

486. Meeting: H. Berman — Consular Truce Commission (Jerusalem, 9 May 1948)

Berman reports on meeting held at request of Truce Commission. Commission wished to discuss what they described as Jewish "refusal to meet with High Commissioner in order to discuss truce terms." [See Editorial Note, pp. 154–5]. Berman argued that if High Commissioner insisted on his right to choose persons with whom he was prepared to negotiate, he must wait till they were able to come [i.e., members of Jewish Agency Executive, from Tel Aviv]. Jews were not to blame for Government's unwillingness and inability to open Jerusalem–Tel Aviv road. Commission agreed that High Commissioner's attitude was odd.

In reply to questions, Berman reiterated main Jewish conditions for truce: opening of [Jerusalem–Tel Aviv] road and withdrawal of [foreign] Arab bands.

487. L. Kohn [Jerusalem] to D. Ben-Gurion, G. Meyerson and E. Kaplan [*ca.* 9 May 1948]

Kohn transmits Consular Truce Commission's draft truce agreement for Jerusalem. [See English text of draft in C.Z.A. S25/8176]. Commission informed Jewish representatives that draft would be submitted to Arabs and Palestine Government only if Jews accepted it as basis for negotiations. Jewish representatives agreed to reply within 24 hours. [On 15 May Jewish Agency transmitted amended draft to Truce Commission — see text in C.Z.A. S25/5176].

Main provisions of Commission's draft, as conveyed by Kohn, are: 1) law and order to be enforced by Jewish and Arab municipal police in their respective areas, under authority of Truce Commission; 2) Truce Commission to arbitrate in cases of differences; Jews and Arabs to avail themselves of Commission's assistance in maintenance of public services; 3) three Jews and three Arabs to assist Commission; 4) protection of Holy Places; 5) access to Holy Places along roads designated for that purpose; 6) return of property to its owners; Truce Commission to make sure that no weapons are introduced into these areas; 7) Jerusalem–Tel Aviv road to be open to exclusively civilian passenger and supply traffic under Commission's control; no military activity to be permitted on road and within one kilometre on each

side; Arab villages along road to be handed back by Jews within one week of resumption of traffic; Truce Commission to make sure that no weapons are introduced into these villages; passenger and supply traffic to and from Old City under U.N. control; 8) other main roads leading into Jerusalem from north, east and south [all under Arab control] to be open to civilian traffic. (Kohn was told by Commission that it was also prepared to control non-transportation of arms on these roads. Actually, this is explicitly stated in extant draft); 9) no interference with Jerusalem water supply; 10) truce to be effective for three months and will continue in force unless abrogated by either side.

Arab Higher Committee and Jewish Agency to be responsible for execution of terms.

498. H. Berman and L. Kohn [Jerusalem] to R. Zaslani. 12 May 1948 (18.30)

According to reliable source, Arab States decided to attack simultaneously on 15 May, relying for success on fact that Jews lack heavy arms and air force.

Telegram enumerates Arab forces involved.

King Abdallah known to have been chief opponent of prolongation of Mandate by ten days. [See No. 454].

499. W. Eytan and H. Berman [Jerusalem] to R. Zaslani. 12 May 1948 (21.30)

According to "Frenchman" [i.e., Consul-General Neuville], Truce Commission worried because not enough time left for truce negotiations, which High Commissioner handed over to Commission. Belgian Consul-General and Azcarate proceeding to Amman and Damascus in search of Azzam Pasha. Probably too late for meeting between High Commissioner and member of Jewish Agency Executive, but latter should meet Truce Commission in order to forestall disparagement by British. [Cf. Editorial Note, p. 154].

505. Meeting of the Arab Section of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency (13 May 1948)

Y. Shimoni said that Arab Legion, supported by Iraqis, would undoubtedly invade Palestine on 15 May; during recent months both Arabs and British had become convinced of necessity of such step. Syrians were also expected to invade. Egypt would probably supply money and advice, and concentrate forces on border, but possibility of their joining invasion could not be ruled out. Presumably King Abdallah would not respect borders of 29 November [U.N. partition resolution], but would refrain from occupying entire Jewish State area. Attempt to renew contacts with King had failed when he published telegrams sent to him by Sasson. [Apparently No. 376, and No. 406]. A week before another letter had been sent, but no reply had yet been received. [See letter from Sasson to unnamed person close to King Abdallah, 7 May 1948, C.Z.A. S25/9038. Letter includes warning against use of force by King, and suggests settlement in spirit of earlier agreement]. Shimoni noted that clash might possibly be avoided as result of meeting between Golda Meyerson and King Abdallah. [See No. 506. At that time Shimoni knew only that meeting was scheduled to take place].

In course of discussion, P. Lauber suggested that Jews declare Transjordanian invasion to constitute foreign invasion, basing themselves on King's declaration that he was ousting local leadership. Shimoni replied that Jews could not make last-minute policy switch and must persist in attempt to cooperate with King Abdallah.

505. Meeting of the Arab Section of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency (1 [illegible] 1948)

[illegible] Shimoni said that Arab [illegible] had [illegible] the [illegible] invade Palestine [illegible] Both Arabs and British had [illegible] convinced [illegible] such [illegible] were [illegible] expected [illegible] would [illegible] money and advice and [illegible] but [illegible] of [illegible] invasion [illegible] Abdullah would not [illegible] Jewish State [illegible] resolution that would [illegible] Attempt [illegible] degrees [illegible] A[illegible] received [illegible] King Abdullah [illegible] [illegible] King [illegible] Shimoni [illegible] meeting between [illegible] [See No. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to take [illegible]

In [illegible] suggested that [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] to cooperate with King Abdullah.

NOTES

The internal references (e.g., "See No. 31") direct the reader to the serial numbers of the documents in the main volume. Notes to Hebrew documents are not included in this translation.
The reader is referred to the English summaries of the Hebrew documents, which include summaries or translations of selected notes, in the English companion volume, above, pp. 1–33.

Editorial Note before No. 1 (Main Volume, p. 3)
No official final report of the proceedings of the General Assembly and its committees leading up to the resolution of 29 November 1947 has been found in the Jewish Agency files. The report printed below was sent by Michael Comay, adviser to the Jewish Agency delegation to the United Nations, to Bernard Gering, Chairman of the South African Zionist Federation. Copies of the report were sent to the Zionist Federations of Australia and New Zealand.

No. 1
(1) The Political Advisory Committee was established by the Zionist General Council in September 1947 "for the purpose of advising the [Jewish Agency] Executive on all matters arising from the discussion of the Palestine problem in the United Nations." The Committee included representatives of parties not represented on the Jewish Agency Executive. (See: The Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, *Reports of the Executives,* August 1951, pp. 88–9). (2) Majority report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), recommending the partition of Palestine and an international regime for Jerusalem. (3) UNSCOP met in Geneva in August 1947 in order to prepare its report. (4) The main differences between the partition borders recommended by UNSCOP and the borders approved by the General Assembly were: a) Jaffa, Beersheba and a strip along the northern part of the Egyptian border were transferred to the proposed Arab state. b) Several small areas in Galilee, the Valley of Jezreel and the coastal plain were transferred from the Jewish to the Arab state

and vice versa. (5) I.e., Sub-Committee 1 of the General Assembly's Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine, which prepared the partition plan. Another sub-committee (Sub-Committee 2) prepared a plan for a unitary Palestinian state. In addition, a conciliation group was set up in order to seek a solution acceptable to both parties. (6) At the eleventh meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee, on 11 October 1947. See *GAOR, 2nd Sess., AHC,* p. 62 ff. (7) See references in *FRUS*, 1947, V, p. 1177, note 1. (8) For the American reservations in regard to the proposals of Sub-Committee 1 concerning the economic union see *FRUS,* 1947, V, p. 1268. See also text of two American amendments to paragraph D 14 of the recommendations of the Sub-Committee in file 93.03/2269/11. Their objective was to increase the share of the Arab state in the common income from import duties and other services, and in the apportionment of foreign currency. (9) See *FRUS,* 1947, V. p. 1243. (10) George C. Marshall, U.S. Secretary of State. (11) 26 November 1947. (12) At the meeting of Sub-Committee 1, on 3 November 1947, the Soviet representative, S.K. Tsarapkin, proposed that during the interim period between the termination of the Mandate and the final establishment of the Jewish and Arab states, Palestine should be governed by the Security Council through a committee nominated by the Council. (13) On 28 November the General Assembly decided, on the suggestion of the French delegate (Parodi), to adjourn the discussion until the following day in order to give time for a last attempt to reach an agreed solution. This attempt having failed, the Assembly voted on 29 November in favour of the partition plan. See *GAOR, 2nd Sess., Plenary,* pp. 1401–4, 1410. On the French attitude at this stage of the discussions see also No. 39; Epstein to members of the Jewish Agency Executive, 14 Jan. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/6595; Fischer to Berman, Linton and Epstein, 19 Jan. 1948, *ibid.* (14) Judge Emil Sandström had served as Chairman of UNSCOP. (15) *Sic.* Reference is to Guillermo Belt y Ramirez, Permanent Representative of Cuba at the U.N. (16) The UNSCOP minority proposals for establishment of a federal state in Palestine. (17) Oswaldo Aranha of Brazil, President of the Second Session of the U.N. General Assembly. (18) Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the U.N. (19) A Trusteeship Council Working Committee to prepare a draft statute for the City of Jerusalem was appointed at the beginning of December. It was composed of representatives of Australia, China, France, Mexico, the United Kingdom and the United States.

(20) Eliezer Kaplan, Treasurer and member of the Jewish Agency Executive. (21) See No. 69. (22) Robert R. Nathan, Economic Adviser to the Jewish Agency, Washington. Held several governmental appointments in U.S.A., 1942–45. Appeared before Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, 1946. (23) Oscar Gass, Economic Adviser to the Jewish Agency, Washington. (24) Arthur Creech Jones, British Secretary of State for the Colonies. (25) Donald C. MacGillivray, Under Secretary, Government of Palestine, 1946–47. Served as liaison officer with UNSCOP. (26) See Linton–Smuts correspondence of 27–28 Nov. 1947; Linton to Shertok, 1 Dec. 1947 (93.03/2267/6). (27) See Appendix A, Main Volume, p. 798. (28) See No. 13. (29) The Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and Transjordan of March 1946; it included a bilateral undertaking of support in case of attack by a third party on either signatory. A military annex established the right of the U.K. to maintain military forces and bases in Transjordan, while the U.K. undertook to assist Transjordan's armed forces. (30) See Editorial Note, p. 40. (31) On 15 May 1947 the First Special Assembly called upon "all Governments and peoples, and particularly upon the inhabitants of Palestine to refrain, pending action by the General Assembly on the report of the Special Committee on Palestine, from the threat or use of force or any other action which might create an atmosphere prejudicial to an early settlement of the question of Palestine." (32) At the end of November 1947, 18,000 Jewish "illegal" immigrants were being held in the Cyprus detention camps. The British Government had consented to the release of 4000 infants and their parents, as well as children and youth up to the age of 18, in addition to the regular monthly immigration quota of 1500. Their transfer to Palestine had already been started at that time. (33) See report by David Horowitz of 9 Feb. 1948 (93.03/127/3). (34) The *Exodus* immigrants, who were forcibly returned to Germany by the British.

Editorial Note before No. 3 (Main Volume, p. 17)

Following the General Assembly's resolution of 29 November 1947, many letters and telegrams of appreciation were despatched by Jewish representatives to heads of delegations and others who had helped secure the majority in support of partition. Three of these are printed below (Nos. 3, 4, 9).

No. 4

(1) Gabriel Bonneau, Director of the African-Levant Department of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2) See Fischer to Schuman, 1 Dec. 1947 (93.02/172/9). Schuman had been appointed Prime Minister on 22 November.

Editorial Note before No. 5 (Main Volume, p. 19)

The immigrant ships *Pan York* and *Pan Crescent* were then at the port of Constanta. The U.S. State Department exerted heavy pressure to prevent their sailing for Palestine. According to a report by Dean Rusk, of the State Department, Lionel Gelber told him on 2 November that the Jewish Agency "would do everything in its power to prevent further incidents" but that it "did not have complete control of the Underground." (See *FRUS*, V, 1947, pp. 1229–30). On the other hand, the Mosad le-Aliya (see No. 5, note 1) demanded that the Jewish Agency Executive authorize the ships' departure. Two important considerations in favour of an immediate sailing were: a) Thousands of Rumanian Jews who were to embark on the boats had already wound up their affairs. b) Concern lest the Rumanian Government might cancel its permission for the departure of the emigrants. See also No. 43.

No. 5

(1) Moshe Sneh, member of the Jewish Agency Executive, supervised the activities of the Paris headquarters of the Mosad le-Aliya, the Haganah organization in charge of "illegal" immigration into Palestine. (2) See No. 6.

No. 6

(1) See Editorial Note above. (2) See No. 1, note 31. (3) Words in square brackets are missing in the extant copy of the outgoing text. (4) Shertok cabled Ben-Gurion on 2 December 1947 that the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive agreed with the majority opinion of the Executive in Palestine. (93.03/2267/4). (5) Shaul Meirov (Avigur) — Shertok's brother-in-law — head of the Paris headquarters of the Mosad le-Aliya. (See No. 5, note 1).

No. 7

(1) Izhak Ben-Zvi and Mordecai Eliash represented the Va'ad Le'umi (General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine). (2) On 2 December 1947 an Arab mob pillaged the Jewish Commercial Centre in Jerusalem. The police refrained from using force and prevented intervention by the Haganah. (3) The Arab Higher Committee declared a 3 days' general strike in protest against the U.N. resolution of 29 November 1947.

No. 9

(1) Andrei Gromyko, Permanent Representative of the U.S.S.R. at the U.N.

No. 10

(1) The United Nations Palestine Commission. (See Appendix A, Main Volume, pp. 799–802.

No. 11

(1) Eliahu (Elias) Sasson, Director of the Arab Section, Jewish Agency's Political Department. (2) Reference is possibly to Sasson's telegram to Shertok of 2 December 1947 (93.03/2267/4). Sasson cabled that all Arab terrorist acts were the work of the Mufti, Haj Amin al-Husseini, and were intended to impel the Arab League Council to adopt extreme decisions. (3) See No. 19.

No. 13

(1) In this telegram (C.Z.A. S25/1699) Ben-Gurion informed Shertok about his meeting with the High Commissioner on 17 November. In reply to the High Commissioner's complaints with regard to the Haganah's refusal to cooperate with the authorities against the I.Z.L. and the Lehi, Ben-Gurion declared that the Va'ad Le'umi (General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine) intended to establish a civil guard for the Jewish areas. See also No. 2. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 3 above). (2) Yehezkiel Sacharov (Sahar), Director of the Security Authorities Section and the Special Section of the Jewish Agency's Political Department. At the beginning of December he was appointed chief liaison officer for security affairs with the Palestine administration. (3) Colonel William N. Gray. (4) Since October 1947 the Palestine authorities had not allowed the recruitment of new personnel to the Jewish Settlement Police.

No. 14

(1) Abd-al-Rahman Azzam, Secretary-General of the Arab League. (2) Sasson sent a copy of the letter to Hussein Haykal Pasha, Speaker of the Egyptian Senate. (See covering note of 18 Dec. 1947 in C.Z.A. S25/4063). The Israeli Ministry for Foreign Affairs released the letter for publication on 28 August 1948. (3) Azzam Pasha was reported in *Ha'aretz* of 30 Nov. 1947 to have stated that the armies of the Arab states would invade Palestine on termination of the Mandate. (4) *Deuteronomy* xxx 19. (5) No reply found — see No. 220.

No. 15

(1) 3 December 1947. (2) See No. 7, note 2. (3) See also No. 46, note 1.

No. 17

(1) Lionel Gelber, Political Adviser at the Jewish Agency Office, New York. (2) Note in C.Z.A. Z5/465 III. Gelber had been acquainted with Rusk since before the Second World War, when they both studied at Oxford. He thanked him and the American delegation for their achievement at the U.N. General Assembly.

No. 18

(1) Ivor Joseph Linton, Political Secretary at the London Office of the Jewish Agency. (2) The telegram was sent to London via Jerusalem and forwarded from there on 10 December (C.Z.A. S25/1700), with addition of following sentence: "Instruct United States cable you directly avoiding delay." (3) Scheduled debate on Palestine in House of Commons (it took place on 11–12 December). Reference is to friendly M.P.'s. See also Nos. 24, 27. (4) In accordance with the General Assembly resolution of 29 November. (See Appendix A, Main Volume, p. 800). (5) The original text of the telegram included a seventh point, most of which was omitted from the final text. It reads: "7) Query why should not Abdullah be encouraged to take over Arab Palestine, provided he undertakes respect Jewish part." The ultimate sentence, which was inadvertently left in, reads: "This is not in general brief, but say Crossman or somebody similar." See also Shertok's correction in cable to Jerusalem of 9 Dec. 1947 (93.01/2206/10).

No. 19

(1) See No. 11. (2) See No. 14.

No. 20

(1) Reference is to Assistant Superintendent T.J. Foley. On his responsibility for non-intervention of police against Arab rioters in Jerusalem on 2 December see Political Department to Shertok and Linton, 17 Dec. 1947 (Appendix "Jerusalem"), 93.03/2267/4. (2) See No. 21.

No. 21

(1) See also No. 22. (2) For Ben-Gurion's earlier demand that the Arab Legion be evacuated from Palestine and confined to Transjordan see his letter to High Commissioner of 14 Oct. 1947 (C.Z.A. S25/10551). (3) The Hatiqva quarter of Tel Aviv was attacked by Arabs on 5 December. During the attack, a police armoured car fired at the defending Haganah unit, killing three of its members.

No. 22

(1) See No. 21. (2) Ben-Gurion addressed another letter to the High Commissioner on the following day (dated by mistake: 9 Nov. 1947), quoting a report in an Arab paper according to which the Arab Legion was involved in skirmishes with the Haganah in Haifa. (68/577/36). (3) See also No. 25.

No. 23

(1) The U.N. Palestine Commission was constituted toward the end of December and held its first meeting in New York on 9 January 1948.

No. 24

(1) See No. 18. (2) The Royal ("Peel") Commission (1936/37), which recommended the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states and a British mandated area.

No. 25

(1) See No. 22.

No. 26

(1) Chaim Weizmann, former President of the Zionist Organization, met President Truman during the General Assembly's discussions, on 19 November 1947, and urged him to oppose the exclusion of the Negev from the area to be allotted to the Jewish state (See *FRUS,* 1947, V, p. 1271). (2) In pursuance of a State Department decision, an embargo on the export of American military equipment to the Middle East was announced on 5 December 1947. (See *FRUS,* 1947, V, p. 1300; memorandum of 13 May 1948, 93.03/125/17). (3) President Truman acknowledged the letter on 12 December, adding: "It is very essential that restraint and tolerance be exercised from now on if we are to get a peaceful settlement in the Near East." (Copy in W.A.).

No. 27

(1) The scheduled House of Commons debate. See also Nos. 18, 24. (2) On 2–3 December, rioters in Aden plundered and destroyed Jewish houses and shops, killing dozens of Jews. Golda Meyerson suggested to Shertok that he should try to induce an American paper or news agency to send reporters to Aden. (See telegram of 21 Dec. 1947, 93.01/2180/4).

No. 28

(1) During the first nine days of December, 59 Jews, including a senior Haganah commander (Yehoshua Globerman), were killed in the Jaffa–Tel Aviv area, on the Jerusalem–Tel Aviv road and in the Negev. The majority were killed by Arabs and some by British soldiers and policemen. During those days the Haganah remained on the defensive. (2) Golda Meyerson cabled on 15 December (C.Z.A. S25/1700) that the requested statement had been prepared but would apparently not be required in view of the latest developments. (The allusion is apparently to Haganah counter-raids, undertaken in the middle of December).

No. 29

(1) Kaplan informed Ben-Gurion on 5 December that prospects for obtaining cash immediately were poor. He suggested that the Jewish National Fund advance 3 million dollars to the Jewish Agency as an emergency measure. Ben-Gurion replied on 8 December, that it was impossible to compel the J.N.F. to advance the money, "particularly

when you refuse to do anything yourselves ... in a matter on which the life of the Yishuv and even our entire future depends." Ben-Gurion demanded the immediate transfer of £500,000. (See telegrams of 5 and 8 Dec. in C.Z.A. S25/1700, as well as telegrams of Ben-Gurion to Kaplan of 9 Dec. concerning interim financial arrangements. See also Shertok's telegram to Ben-Gurion of 12 Dec. pointing out injustice of complaints against Kaplan. *Ibid.*) (2) On contacts with King Abdullah see No. 31. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 4 above).

No. 30

(1) George Lewis Jones, First Secretary at the U.S. Embassy in London. (2) Lewis W. Douglas. (3) See Editorial Note, p. 40.

Editorial Note before No. 31 (Main Volume, p. 44)

On 17 November 1947 Golda Meyerson, Eliahu Sasson and Ezra Danin met King Abdallah at Naharayim, on the Palestine–Transjordan border. The King said that he would agree to the partition of Palestine on condition that it did not discredit him in the eyes of the Arabs. He said that he did not wish to fight the Jews or to cooperate with their adversaries and that he was prepared to help them to oust the Mufti, Haj Amin al-Husseini. King Abdallah declared that he was opposed to the establishment of a separate Arab state in Palestine and inquired what the Jewish attitude would be if he attempted to seize the Arab part of the country. The representatives of the Jewish Agency replied that they would welcome such a step if it was explained as a temporary measure. The King added that he would be prepared to sign an agreement with the Jews if they helped him to annex the Arab part of Palestine to his kingdom, in conformity with his plan to establish a Greater Syria. He also suggested that the Jewish state might later join Transjordan in a union, with a common economy, army and parliament. (See Danin's report, C.Z.A. S25/4004; Sasson to Shertok, 20 Nov. 1947, C.Z.A. S25/1699).

No. 33

(1) The Political Committee of the Arab League, attended by Prime Ministers of the member states, discussed the Palestine problem on 8–17 December 1947. According to information received by the Jewish Agency, decisions were reached concerning the financing of guerilla

warfare, supplies and training; no decision was said to have been reached in regard to a direct intervention by Arab armies. (See "Cabled Report from Jerusalem", 11 Dec. 1947, 93.03/2267/26). See also No. 65.

No. 34

(1) No. 33. (2) Reference is apparently to Security Council. See also No. 43 and note 3 there.

No. 35

(1) See No. 29. (2) Not found. Reference is evidently to King Abdallah's instructions to his Cabinet. See No. 31 and note 6 there. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 4 above). (3) According to report of Ezra Danin (see Editorial Note, p. 45), King Abdallah said at the meeting with Jewish Agency representatives that he preferred leaders of the opposition to the Mufti, Haj Amin al-Husseini, to visit him on their own initiative because he did not trust their dependability.

No. 36

(1) On the debate in the Security Council on 9 December 1947 see No. 50 and note 2 there.

Editorial Note before No. 37 (Main Volume, p. 49)

The Working Committee appointed by the Trusteeship Council to draft a statute for the City of Jerusalem held several meetings during the first half of December and established two groups of experts, consisting of members of the delegations of France, the United Kingdom and the United States, and assisted by officials of the U.N. Secretariat. These groups began their deliberations on 11 December, and on 7 January they submitted a draft statute to the Working Committee. On the two groups and for a list of members and staff see U.N. press release, TR/124, of 11 Dec. 1947 (copy in 93.03/2273/3).

No. 37

(1) Shertok requested Jerusalem on 2 December 1947 that Daniel Auster (formerly Acting Mayor of Jerusalem) and Mordecai Eliash (Legal Adviser of the Va'ad Le'umi and Chairman of Emergency Committee of Jewish Community of Jerusalem) be sent to New York

immediately. (Telegram in 93.03/2267/4). On the same day Arthur Lourie, Director of the Jewish Agency Office in New York, asked the President of the Trusteeship Council to allow Jewish Agency representatives to attend Council and Working Committee meetings on Jerusalem. (Letter in 93.03/128/14). Lourie's letter was read at the Council's meeting on 11 December; the Council decided to empower the Working Committee to invite "representatives of the communities whose spiritual and religious interests are located in the City of Jerusalem" to attend meetings of the Working Committee in order to present their views on the draft statute. (See F.B. Sayre to Lourie, 12 Dec. 1947, and enclosed resolution, *ibid.*). On 16 December Shertok cabled that in view of interruption in Committee's work, Auster and Eliash could defer arrival until middle of January (*ibid.*). (2) See Appendix A, main Volume, pp. 816–17. (3) In 1945, when the mayoralty of Jerusalem was being disputed by Jews and Arabs, the High Commissioner appointed a provisional Municipal Commission to replace the elected municipality. Subsequently Chief Justice Sir William Fitzgerald, who was asked by the High Commissioner to inquire into the problem, recommended the establishment of separate Arab and Jewish municipalities as well as a joint Council. He also recommended a general strengthening of municipal self-government. (4) Shertok's telegram was discussed at a "municipal meeting" in Jerusalem on 16 December. The Chairman, Golda Meyerson, supported Shertok's view and the meeting decided by a majority vote to accept the policy advocated by him. (See minutes in C.Z.A. S25/9038).

No. 38

(1) Arthur Lourie, Director of New York Office of the Jewish Agency. (2) See No. 50, note 2. (3) At the Security Council meeting on 9 December 1947, Egypt and Lebanon requested permission to attend the Council's discussions on the Palestine question. Arkady Sobolev, Assistant Secretary-General in charge of Security Council affairs, suggested to Shertok that the Jewish Agency present a similar request. See ASJAE, 10 Dec. 1947, C.Z.A. Z5/58. (4) Sobolev informed Lourie on 17 December that his letter had been brought to the attention of members of the Security Council. (93.03/2269/5).

No. 39

(1) Eliahu Epstein (Elath), Director of Washington Office of the Jewish Agency. (2) Yeshayahu Klinow, Director of the Jewish Agency Information Office. In the latter part of 1947 he served for a few months as Political Secretary at the Paris Office of the Jewish Agency in charge of information to the Soviet Union and other East European countries. (3) Letter in file 93.02/184/9. (4) See No. 1, note 13. (5) The delegate of Colombia at the U.N. General Assembly proposed on 28 November 1947 to adjourn the discussion on the question of Palestine and to request the Ad Hoc Committee to make a further effort to find a final solution acceptable to both parties.

No. 40

(1) Unsigned. (2) Judith G. Epstein, member of the Zionist General Council and former President of Hadassah in the United States. (3) See Appendix A, Main Volume, p. 818.

No. 41

(1) Cf. No. 23. (2) Karel Lisicky. (3) Creech Jones' declaration on the arrival of the U.N. Commission in Palestine — see No. 42. See also No. 70.

No. 42

(1) See *445 H.C. Deb. 5s,* cols. 1213, 1374.

No. 43

(1) Herschel V. Johnson, Deputy Chief of U.S. Delegation to U.N. (2) See telegram from Secretary of State Marshall to Acting Secretary Lovett from London, 6 Dec. 1947, on talk with Foreign Secretary Bevin (*FRUS,* 1947, V, pp. 1301–2). Bevin asked Marshall for U.S. measures against "illegal" Jewish immigration into Palestine. Marshall promised to send an appropriate message to Washington. See also *ibid.,* p. 1312. (3) Shertok met Loy Henderson, Director of Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, on 8 December. They discussed questions of immigration, American support for the implementation of partition, supply of arms and dispatch of military advisers. (See also No. 75). Shertok also asked for interviews with Acting Secretary of State Lovett and Assistant Secretary Armour. (See *FRUS,* 1947, V, pp. 1302–4). For Armour's report on his talk with Shertok see *ibid.,* pp. 1311–12. Shertok asked for an American state-

ment in Security Council warning Arab states against interference in Palestine. (4) Colonial Secretary Creech Jones, speaking in the House of Commons on 11 December 1947, stated that the General Assembly's recommendation concerning the opening of a Palestinian port to Jewish immigration not later than 1 February 1948 "presents a considerable difficulty and must be studied further with the United Nations Commission . . . ". (See *445 H.C. Deb. 5s,* col. 1215). See also No. 70. (5) See No. 87, note 3; No. 171, note 1; No. 172.

No. 44

(1) See No. 43 and note 3 there. (2) See "Cabled report from Jerusalem", 11 Dec. 1947, C.Z.A. S25/1584. Another copy is in file "telegrams from Sasson", 93.03/2267/26. In the concluding paragraph it is stated that the Mufti (Haj Amin al-Husseini) wished "to exploit Jewish restraint in order to impress Arab governments and peoples that Jewish strength is fictional, and thus strengthen support of his plans." (3) See also No. 82 and note 1 there.

No. 46

(1) Shertok asked for clarification concerning the reported statement of the Chief Secretary of the Palestine Government about possibility of making port available to Jews on 1 February. (See No. 15). Golda Meyerson replied that statement referred only to question of supply of arms to Civil Guard. (See Shertok to Meyerson, 9 Dec. 1947, 93.01/2180/5; Meyerson to Shertok, 15 Dec. 1947, 93.01/2180/4).

No. 48

(1) Ehud Ueberall (Avriel). (2) See Editorial Note, p. 40.

No. 49

(1) I.e., to all members of Security Council, with exception of Syria. (2) See No. 50.

No. 50

(1) The delegate of Argentina abstained. (2) At the Security Council session on 9 December, the President (Hood, Australia) read a letter from the Secretary-General concerning the General Assembly resolution of 29 November. The Secretary-General drew the attention of the Council to the paragraph pertaining to the Security Council in

the operative part of the resolution. The President proposed that the Council take note of the letter without discussion. The Syrian delegate (al-Khuri) denied the authority of the General Assembly to partition Palestine and demanded a thorough discussion in the Security Council. The delegate of the U.S.S.R. (Gromyko) suggested that the Council accept the resolution and remain seized of the Palestinian question. The American delegate (Johnson) supported the President's proposal, while the French and Belgian delegates (Parodi and van Langenhove) maintained that no immediate decision was required. The Council finally adopted the following resolution: "The Security Council received the letter from the Secretary-General enclosing the resolution of the General Assembly concerning Palestine; and being seized of the question, decided to postpone the discussion." (See *SCOR, Second Year*, No. 106, pp. 2276–89). (3) See *GAOR, 2nd Sess., Plenary*, II, p. 1324. (4) The Belgian delegate expressed his government's reservations in regard to the partition plan, but announced that he would vote for the resolution on the assumption that the permanent members of the Security Council "will not only carry out the measures which the Security Council may be called upon to take to ensure the maintenance of peace, but that they will permit and facilitate the necessary decisions." (*Ibid.*, p. 1365). (5) *Sic* (par. 9 is followed by par. 11).

No. 51

(1) See No. 50. (2) Mistake in original ("any"). (3) See No. 50, note 2. (4) On 25 November 1947 the Ad Hoc Committee of the General Assembly discussed the proposals of Sub-Committee 2, which had prepared a plan for a unitary state in Palestine. It was proposed, *inter alia*, that the International Court of Justice be asked to give an advisory opinion on eight questions. Reference of seven of these questions to the Court was rejected by 25 votes against 18. At the suggestion of the French delegate (Parodi), the eighth question — as to whether the U.N. was competent to enforce partition — was put to a separate vote and rejected by a single vote (21: 20). [*GAOR, 2nd Sess., AHC*, pp. 203–4]. For Parodi's intervention on 28 November 1947, see No. 1 and note 13 there.

No. 52

(1) See No. 50.

No. 53

(1) Résumé of talk was telegraphed to G. Meyerson on 16 December 1947 (C.Z.A. S25/1700). (2) A supply convoy escorted by members of the Haganah and Jewish Settlement Police was attacked by a unit of the Arab Legion on its way from Tel Aviv to the Ben Shemen agricultural school. (3) Selig Brodetsky, member of the Jewish Agency Executive and President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. (4) See report of 3 November 1947 on meeting at Colonial Office on 20 October (C.Z.A. S25/7567). (5) On 11 December a Jewish convoy was attacked at Yazur, on the Tel Aviv–Jerusalem road. (6) Foreign Secretary Bevin announced in the House of Commons on 12 December that the Arab Legion would be withdrawn from Palestine at the same time as the British forces. (7) See No. 7, Note 2.

No. 54

(1) John M. Martin, Assistant Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office. (2) See No. 53.

No. 55

(1) Golda Meyerson cabled that it was essential that principal powers warn Arab League against attempt to frustrate U.N. decision of 29 November. (C.Z.A. S25/1700).

No. 56

(1) Outgoing text is copy of telegram sent to Linton in London. (2) The meeting with Macatee, the American Consul-General in Jerusalem, took place on 15 December. For Macatee's report see *FRUS*, 1947, V, pp. 1314–15.

No. 58

(1) See Editorial Note, p. 40. (2) The immigrant boats *Pan Crescent* and *Pan York* sailed from Constanta to the port of Burgas in Bulgaria. (3) Moshe Averbuch (Agami) was in charge of the activities of the Mosad le-Aliya (see No. 5, note 1) in Rumania. (4) Artzi — Palestine headquarters of the Mosad le-Aliya. (5) Ben-Yehuda — Shaul Meirov (Avigur).

No. 60

(1) The reply of Fox-Strangways to this letter shows that a ninth paragraph was added, which is not included in the extant copy. The

revised letter was dated 18 December. (See note 4 below). (2) See No. 59. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 7 above). (3) Yusuf Haykal. (4) Fox-Strangways replied only on 2 February 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/7725). Referring to point 8, he rejected the request for extension of the area of the Mishmar Ha'am (Civil Guard). He added that Mrs. Meyerson's statement that the quarters listed in the letter would have to be evacuated unless the request was granted, was not understood, in view of the fact that the Government had authorized the establishment of the Mishmar on the understanding that its object was to prevent breaches of peace by Jews and not the conduct of operations against the Arabs. (Cf. No. 13, note 1). Fox-Strangways asked for an assurance that no change was contemplated in this respect. As to point 9 (missing in extant copy — see note 1 above), the letter stated that an admixture of British with the Arab police on the Arab side of the border between Tel Aviv and Jaffa added a stabilizing factor and would be continued for the time being.

No. 61

(1) Linton cabled Golda Meyerson a résumé of the talk on 22 December (C.Z.A. S25/1700). (2) Lewis Jones. (3) Cf. No. 58. (4) See telegram of Brodetsky and Linton to Ben-Gurion of 18 December 1947 (C.Z.A. S25/1700), suggesting that Jewish Agency Executive should decide the question. (5) Part of the sentence is not printed here. (6) An American Mission, headed by Secretary of State Marshall, came to London in November 1947 in order to attend the Fifth Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers. (7) Charles David Ginsburg, partner in law firm Ginsburg, Leventhal and Brown. In 1947 served as U.S. member on Austrian Treaty Commission and as adviser in U.S. Mission to fifth session of Council of Foreign Ministers. (8) Cf. No. 69 and note 7 there. (9) Hector McNeil, Minister of State at the Foreign Office and member of U.K. delegation to the U.N. General Assembly. On Goldmann's talk with him see No. 73. (10) Foreign Secrtary Bevin.

No. 64

(1) An identical telegram was sent to Goldmann and Brodetsky. (2) Reference to sailing of *Pan York* and *Pan Crescent*. (See Editorial Note, p. 40; No. 6, note 4; No. 61).

No. 65

(1) This unsigned telegram, filed among telegrams received from Sasson (93.03/2267/26), was evidently sent by him. (2) I.e., at meeting of Political Committee of Arab League. See also No. 33 and note 1 there.

No. 67

(1) See also Meyerson to Shertok, telegram of 19 December 1947 (C.Z.A. S25/1700), concerning Syrian arms purchases in Czechoslovakia. Golda Meyerson suggested that Weizmann approach Jan Masaryk, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister.

No. 69

(1) Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. Copies of the memoranda enclosed with this letter were sent on the same day to Frank A. Southard, Director of the Office of International Finance at the Treasury Department, with whom Kaplan and Oscar Gass (Economic Adviser of the Jewish Agency in Washington) had met a few days earlier. (See covering note in same file). Copies were also sent to Loy Henderson, Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs. An extract from the covering note to him is printed in *FRUS*, 1947, V, p. 1317. (2) Norman T. Ness, Director, Office of Financial and Development Policy, Department of State. (3) The memoranda, both signed by Kaplan, are in same file. (4) This memorandum presents the economic plan for the first four years' period of the Jewish State prepared in outline by the Jewish Agency. Its objectives were: (a) Immigration and absorption of some 400,000 persons. (b) Improvement of the standard of living of the Arab population. The memorandum discusses the financial implications of the plan and the expected income from internal sources and from World Jewry, anticipating a deficit of 500 million dollars. The U.S. Government was requested to help cover this deficit, partly through a grant and mostly by way of Congressional authorization to the Export-Import Bank to extend long-term credit to the Jewish State for development projects. It was also suggested that the Bank advance a limited credit (for which no special authorization was required) to help cover the urgent needs of the first year. (5) William M. Martin. (6) In this memorandum Kaplan asked for credit to the amount of 75 million dollars for immediate development requirements of the first year. It was suggested that the Export-

Import Bank grant a ten-year loan to the Jewish Agency; after the establishment of the Jewish State, the latter would take over all obligations to the Bank. (7) No reply to Kaplan's letter was found. Gass informed him at the end of December or early in January that Henderson had merely confirmed receipt of the letter and memoranda, but Herbert E. Gaston, Vice-Chairman of the Export-Import Bank, had circulated the memorandum [*sic*] to the Directors and recommended acceptance. Gass also reported that the Bank would probably recommend approval of the 75 million dollars loan. (See Gass to Kaplan, undated telegram, 93.01/2180/10; delayed incoming text, 9 Jan. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1701). See also quotation from critical memorandum by Gordon P. Merriam, Chief, Division of Near East ern Affairs, in *FRUS,* 1947, V, p. 1317. See also No. 159.

No. 70

(1) Linton cabled résumé of talk to Golda Meyerson on 24 December (C.Z.A. S25/1700). (2) Several words missing in original.

No. 71

(1) This information originated in a report published in the *Economist* of 20 December 1947. The report quoted Shertok as saying that "the basic tenet of our foreign policy must be friendship with Russia." In a telegram to the Editor of the *Economist,* dated 21 December, Shertok denied having made such a statement, but two days later he cabled again, asking to substitute following statement for bare denial: "While I consider friendly relations with the Soviet Union, as with other powers, most desirable, have never made statement attributed." On 27 December the *Economist* published the earlier denial, explaining that the statement had in fact been made by Moshe Sneh and had mistakenly been attributed to Shertok. (See Shertok's telegrams: 1) To Rowson, of Zionist Office in London, 22 Dec. 1947; 2) To Editor of the *Economist,* 23 Dec. 1947. Both in 93.01/2206/12).

No. 72

(1) Shlomo Zalman Shragai, member of the Jewish Agency Executive, London. (2) Josef Olszewski, Director of the Political Department in Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The meeting, on 19 December, was also attended by Shaul Langnas, Director of the Immigration Bureau of the Jewish Agency in Warsaw. See also No. 316. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 22 above). (3) Jacob Ber-

man, Under-Secretary of State in Prime Minister's Office and leading member of Polish Politburo. (4) Letter untraced.

No. 73

(1) Nuri al-Said Pasha, President of the Iraqi Senate and former Prime Minister.

No. 74

(1) Shertok left New York at the end of December for a short visit to Palestine. He returned to New York on 9 January. (2) Pinhas Ginsburg, Treasurer of the Mosad le-Aliya (Geneva). [On the Mosad le-Aliya see No. 5, note 1]. (3) Reference apparently to Jan Masaryk. (4) Allusion to Syrian arms purchases in Czechoslovakia. See No. 67 and note 1 there.

No. 75

(1) Major-General John H. Hilldring. In 1947 he was Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas and member of U.S. Mission to Second Session of U.N. General Assembly. Favoured partition of Palestine. In December resigned from State Department. Shertok met Hilldring at beginning of December. See ASJAE, 9 Dec. 1947, C.Z.A. Z5/58. (2) The Working Committee on implementation — one of working committees of Sub-Committee 1, which prepared the partition plan. (See No. 1, note 5). Shertok addressed this Committee on 16 November 1947. (3) John H. Ohly and Marx Leva, Special Assistants to the Secretary of Defence, James Forrestal. (4) See No. 43 and note 3 there; No. 44. (5) See No. 82, note 1. (6) Untraced.

No. 76

(1) Georges Bidault, French Minister of Foreign Affairs. (2) André Blumel, President of the Union Sioniste Française. (3) Emile Najar, in charge of information for France and French-speaking countries at the Paris Office of the Jewish Agency. (4) Jamil Mardam, Prime Minister of Syria and Minister of Foreign Affairs. (5) One sentence not printed here.

No. 77

(1) Contents of telegram were reported by Linton in letter to Eban on 24 December 1947 (W.A.). Linton asked Eban, on Weizmann's

behalf, to give gist of letter to Felix Frankfurter, "who might perhaps pass it on in confidence to the quarters where he thinks it might do good." (2) Corresponding sentence in Linton's letter (see note 1 above) reads: "... on definite information which he [Weizmann] had received."

No. 78

(1) Uriel Heydt (Heyd) of the London Office of the Jewish Agency. (2) George Pape (Palti), Deputy Director of the Jewish Agency's Information Office. (3) Shabtai Rowson (Rosenne), served in the London Office of Jewish Agency up to the end of 1947. From January 1948 — member of the secretariat of the Legal Council of the Emergency Committee.

No. 79

(1) The memorandum was sent to the American Consul-General in Jerusalem, who was requested to pass it on to his Government. (See *FRUS,* 1947, V, p. 1326, note 1).

No. 81

(1) Memorandum signed by Moshe Yuval, of the Jewish Agency's Washington Office. See also his covering note to Lourie of 26 Dec. 1947, in same file. (2) See No. 75. (3) See No. 67 and note 1 there.

No. 82

(1) *Sic,* but letter (or draft) was probably drawn up on 24 December — cf. below and note 3. (2) Armour replied to Shertok's letter of 12 December (No. 44): he had learned that Dr. Goldmann intended to raise question of military supplies with the British authorities, and therefore suggested postponement of discussion for time being (93.03/2269/29). (3) Reference apparently to meeting of 23 December — see No. 70. (4) The *Pan Crescent* and *Pan York* left Burgas on 25 December with approximately 15,000 immigrants on board. They were intercepted by British warships and diverted to Cyprus.

No. 83

(1) According to letter from Zaslani to Sacharov of same date (C.Z.A. S25/815), this telegram was drawn up in the course of a conversation between Ben-Gurion and Zaslani. Zaslani explained that

Ben-Gurion had sent the telegram on his own initiative and would later consult his colleagues. Zaslani told Sacharov that the Negev incident might substantiate the argument of those "who maintain that the British Government has decided to make common cause with the Mufti and the Arab Higher Committee in their war against us, and all our efforts to bring them around and appease them are of no avail." Zaslani added that he himself realized that "we have reached a very delicate and dangerous turning-point in our relations with this Government", and that "a supreme effort must be made in order to induce them to alter their conduct, otherwise we shall become entangled and slide into open war with the British." It was therefore necessary to "make a desperate effort to reach an understanding with the Government, both here and in London." He would suggest to Ben-Gurion that he — Zaslani — visit London for that purpose. (2) Reference is to a patrol of Kibbutz Tse'elim which was safeguarding the Negev water pipeline.

No. 84

(1) See No. 50. Fischer's reply untraced, but see No. 76. (2) U.N. Palestine Commission. (3) See No. 52. (4) H.M. Gladwyn Jebb, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and principal adviser to U.K. Mission to U.N.

No. 87

(1) Lillie Shultz, Director of the Nation Associates. (2) Both letters in Elath Papers, file "General Press in America, II". In the letter of 30 December, Lillie Shultz suggested the publication of a sort of *"J'accuse"* against the British, proving their discrimination against the Jews in Palestine and their responsibility for bloodshed there. (3) The report alleged that among the immigrants on board the *Pan Crescent* and *Pan York* there were many Communist agents and Communist sympathisers close to Lehi (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel). The British were said to fear a change in the ideological set-up of the Jewish community in Palestine if the immigrants were permitted to enter the country. (4) See printed memorandum submitted by Nation Associates to the Second Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly in April 1948: *The British Record on Partition as Revealed by the British Military Intelligence and other Official Sources,* W.A., attached to letter of Freda Kirchwey to Weizmann of 30 April 1948. (5) Last paragraph, which

is irrelevant to main theme of letter, is not printed here. (6) Freda Kirchwey, President of the Nation Associates and editor and publisher of *The Nation.*

No. 88

(1) See Appendix A, Main Volume, p. 798. (2) Telegram untraced. See Shertok's reply in telegram to Lourie of 2 Jan. 1948 (93.03/128/1), and further telegram from Lourie to Shertok, 3 Jan. 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/1584).

No. 89

(1) Alias of emissary of King Abdallah not printed here. (2) Erroneously decoded "Maronites". The correct reading is taken from corresponding telegram from Heydt to Ruffer, 5 Jan. 1948 (93.01/2180/12). (3) I.e., federal Palestinian state, divided into Arab and Jewish cantons. (4) Musa al-Alami, formerly adherent of the Mufti, Haj Amin al-Husseini, and representative of Palestinian Arabs at Arab League. Established and headed Arab information offices in Jerusalem, Great Britain and the United States. (5) See also No. 100 and note 3 there. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 12 above).

No. 91

(1) The meaning of the code names and words in the telegram is as follows: *Chevrat Bitachon* — Security Council; *Dayyag* — Maurice Fischer; Neighbours Westward—Belgium; *Zirim* — Belgian delegation to U.N.; Henri Paul — Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister; *Va'ad Bitsua* — U.N. Palestine Commission. (See handwritten draft in same file). (2) See No. 84. In the meantime, Léon Blum had also undertaken to try influence French Government and British Labour Party. (See Fischer to Berman, 4 Jan. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1701). (3) See No. 50 and note 4 there.

No. 92

(1) Joseph Fisher (Ariel), Secretary-General of the Union Sioniste Française, asked the Jewish Agency Office in New York for assistance for families of Lithuanian Zionists exiled in 1941 to Asiatic areas of the Soviet Union. He inquired whether the Jewish Agency could ask the Soviet authorities to release them and permit them to leave the country. (See letter in 93.03/128/10).

No. 93

(1) Leo R. Sack, assisted in work of Washington Office of American Zionist Emergency Council. (2) Benjamin Akzin, Political Secretary of American Zionist Emergency Council. (3) Owen Brewster, Republican Senator, co-Chairman of American Christian Palestine Committee. (4) John D. Rockefeller Jun. (5) Arthur H. Vandenberg, President pro tempore of the Senate and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Vice-Chairman of American Christian Palestine Committee.

No. 94

(1) Name of sender missing. (2) In original: "disability". Corrected in accordance with incoming text. (3) On 3 January a large consignment of high explosives about to be shipped to Palestine for the Haganah, was impounded in New Jersey. Another consignment was seized on 8 January.

No. 95

(1) Eban reported on the talks of 6 January in telegrams to Golda Meyerson (7 Jan. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1701) and to the Jewish Agency Office in London (6 Jan. 1948, 93.01/2180/23). See also No. 96. (2) The I.Z.L. (3) On 30 December, 6 Arabs were killed and many wounded by a bomb thrown by a unit of the I.Z.L. near the Haifa refineries. (The attack was carried out in retaliation for Arab sniping in Haifa). Shortly after, Arab refinery workers attacked Jewish workers, killing about 40. (4) *Sic.* Should apparently read: "Damascus Gate". (On 29 December seventeen Arabs and two Englishmen were killed in an I.Z.L. attack near Damascus Gate in Jerusalem). (5) On the night between 4 and 5 January a unit of the Haganah blew up a wing of the Semiramis Hotel in Jerusalem. About 15 people were killed, including the Spanish Vice-Consul. (According to information received by the Haganah intelligence, the hotel served as a local Arab headquarters).

No. 96

(1) See also No. 95 and notes 3–5 there. (2) The Government of Palestine published a statement condemning the Haganah attack against the Semiramis hotel. The statement disputed the allegations that the hotel had served as an Arab headquarters, and declared that the Government was studying the situation created by the action

of the Haganah, which was described as a "dastardly and wholesale murder of innocent people."

No. 97

(1) Jean Chauvel, Secretary-General of French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

No. 98

(1) O. Benjamin Gerig, Chief, Division of Dependent Area Affairs, U.S. Department of State, Chairman of the Trusteeship Council's Working Committee on Jerusalem. (2) See Editorial Note, p. 46. (3) See preliminary working draft of Statute for City of Jerusalem (93.03/128/14). The draft was discussed by the Working Committee on 7 January. (See Dorothy Adelson to members of Jewish Agency Executive, 8 Jan. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/9038). (4) See No. 37 and note 4 there.

No. 101

(1) See Editorial Note, p. 40; No. 82, note 4.

No. 102

(1) On the previous day — 7 January — the I.Z.L. attacked a position of the Arab National Guard near Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem, after the Arabs had erected barriers cutting off the access to the Jewish quarter in the Old City. 25 Arabs were killed. (2) Jewish refugees from the Yemen, including several hundreds of orphans, were temporarily accommodated in a camp in Aden, financed by Jewish relief funds and administered by the local British authorities. (3) Adolph G. Brotman, Secretary of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. (4) David Rees-Williams, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies. (In original erroneously: "Rhys Williams"). (5) *Sic.* Reference is apparently to James Harford, of the Colonial Office. (6) Mistake in original ("Aden"). (7) Joseph J. Schwartz, European Director of the Joint Distribution Committee. (8) Barnett Janner, Labour M.P., Chairman of Executive of Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, Vice-President of Board of Deputies of British Jews.

No. 103

(1) See No. 94, note 3.

No. 104

(1) Leo Kohn, Political Secretary of the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem. (2) Mistake in original ("13.1.1947"). (3) William J. Porter, American Consul in Jerusalem. (4) See No. 95, note 5. (5) See No. 96, note 2. (6) Ralph J. Bunche, Director, Division of Trusteeship, U.N. Secretariat. Principal Secretary of the U.N. Palestine Commission. (7) Joseph C. Satterthwaite, Deputy Director of Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State.

No. 105

(1) Alias of emissary of King Abdallah not printed here. (2) King Abdallah. (3) See No. 100. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 12 above). (4) See No. 90. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 11 above).

No. 106

(1) In the course of Shertok's visit to Palestine in the first half of January. (2) The figure represents the monthly immigration quota recommended by UNSCOP for the transition period between 1 September 1947 and 1 September 1949 — the date on which the Arab and Jewish states were to be established according to UNSCOP's recommendation. See also No. 110, p. 177.

No. 107

(1) Avraham Hartzfeld, Chairman of the Agricultural Centre of the General Federation of Jewish Labour. He was on a visit to the U.S.A. (2) The U.N. Palestine Commission. (3) The water pipeline to the Jewish settlements in the Negev.

No. 108

(1) The union of Jewish communities in Italy. (2) Arie Stern (Oron), Director of Jewish Agency Office in Rome. (3) The International Refugee Organization. (4) In October 1947, a four-power committee was established to examine the various claims to the former colonies of Italy. Italy asked to be given the trusteeship over Lybia, Eritrea and Somali. (5) Reference is apparently to efforts to obtain Italian visas for emissaries of the Mosad le-Aliya. (See No. 5, note 1).

Editorial Note before No. 110 (Main Volume, p. 129)

The U.N. Palestine Commission (also known as the "Implementation Commission") met for the first time on 9 January 1948. Karel Lisicky of Czechoslovakia was elected Chairman and Raul Diez de Medina (Bolivia) — Vice-Chairman. The other members were: Per T. Federspiel (Denmark), Eduardo Morgan (Panama) and Vincente J. Francisco (Philippines). At its first meeting, the Commission requested the Government of the U.K., the Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency to nominate representatives to assist it in execution of its tasks. Sir Alexander Cadogan was appointed to represent the U.K., and Moshe Shertok was nominated by the Jewish Agency. The Arab Higher Committee informed the Commission that it did not recognize the partition resolution and would not appoint a representative. At its first meetings, the Palestine Commission approved rules of procedure and defined the main tasks of the Commission in accordance with the General Assembly's resolution of 29 November 1947: (i) transfer of administrative authority to the Commission and establishment of Provisional Councils of Government; (ii) supervision of the Provisional Councils of Government during period of transition; (iii) delimitation of frontiers; (iv) control over militias of both states, including selection of their high commands; (v) preparatory work towards establishment of the Economic Union between the two states; (vi) negotiations on allocation and distribution of assets; (vii) maintenance of administration and public services after termination of Mandate; (viii) preparation for application of Statute for City of Jerusalem; (ix) protection of holy places. (See PC Rep., 29 Jan. 1948). On 14 January, Cadogan reported to the Commission on the situation in Palestine, and on the following day the Commission heard Moshe Shertok and Aubrey Eban. This meeting was also attended by U.N. Acting Secretary-General Byron Price, Assistant Secretary-General Arkady A. Sobolev, and the Commission's Secretary — Ralph J. Bunche. Document No. 110 includes the main part of Shertok's statement. The concluding part of the minutes, recording the questions put to Shertok and his replies, is not printed here.

No. 110

(1) See Appendix A, Main Volume, p. 800 (paragraph 8). (2) See No. 107. (3) After exhaustion of the quota of 75,000 immigrants allowed into Palestine in accordance with the provisions of the British White Paper on Palestine of May 1939, the British Government de-

cided at the end of 1945, as an interim measure, to permit the continuation of Jewish immigration at the rate of 1500 per month. (4) See No. 106, note 2. (5) Dates in U.N. General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947: *1 February 1948* — latest date for making port available for Jewish immigration. *1 August 1948* — latest date for termination of Mandate and evacuation of British forces. *1 October 1948* — establishment of Arab and Jewish states and international regime for City of Jerusalem. The additional date — *15 May 1948* — is the day fixed by the British Government for termination of the Mandate. (6) See Eban to Chairman of Palestine Commission, 23 Jan. 1948 (93.03/94/7), requesting that the plans concerning the evacuation of the British forces from Palestine, which had been submitted to the Commission by the British Government, be communicated to representatives of the Jewish Agency in order to enable it to take measures for ensuring the safety of the Jewish population in the evacuated areas. The Commission refused to comply with this request. (See Bunche to Eban, 29 Jan. 1948, *ibid.).*

No. 111

(1) Not found. (2) I.e., the road between Jerusalem and Jaffa–Tel Aviv.

No. 112

(1) For several months, heavy fighting had been going on in Greece between government forces and the rebel Communists. The United States had agreed to give extensive advisory services to the Greek army. (2) Robert A. Taft, Republican Senator; Robert F. Wagner, Democratic Senator, co-founder of American Christian Palestine Committee.

No. 113

(1) At meeting of Palestine Commission on 14 January. See also Ruffer to Sharef, 19 Jan. 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/5354).

No. 114

(1) Date of conversation unknown. Locker reported on it at Jewish Agency meeting in London on 18 January. (See minutes, W.A.). Locker also reported to Shertok in a telegram of 19 January 1948 (93.01/2180/12). (2) See also No. 163.

No. 115

(1) Alias of emissary of King Abdallah not printed here. (2) A Transjordanian delegation, headed by Prime Minister Tawfiq Abu'l-Huda, was due to arrive in London on 25 January in order to negotiate a revision of the Anglo-Transjordanian Treaty. In March a new treaty was signed, replacing that of 1946. The Palestine question was discussed in the course of the conversations. (3) King Abdallah.

No. 117

(1) See No. 116 (2) On Zaslani's mission to London see Nos. 205, 258. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 18 above).

No. 118

(1) Ivor J. Linton, the Political Secretary at the London Office of the Jewish Agency, was temporarily attached to the New York Office. He arrived on 14 January. (2) See minutes of meeting, U.N. document T/AC.7/SR.17 (copy in 93.03/128/15). The representatives of the Jewish Agency, Messrs. Shertok, Eliash and Auster, asked for clarifications concerning various clauses in the third part of the U.N. resolution of 29 November dealing with the City of Jerusalem. The Jewish representatives were given a revised draft of the Jerusalem statute (of 15 Jan. 1948, copy in 93.03/128/15). (3) Benjamin Gerig. (4) According to the preliminary working draft of the Jerusalem statute (see No. 98, note 3), the Legislative Council was to be elected on the basis of proportional representation, and the elections were to be "universal, equal, direct and secret" (Article XV). The draft of 15 January (Article XXI) provided for elections "on the basis of universal and secret suffrage and proportional representation designed to ensure adequate representation of the various opinions and interests of the City." Of the Council's 40 members, 18 were to be elected by the Arab residents of the City, 18 by the Jewish residents, and 4 members by "other residents" (Article XX). See also No. 132, note 2. (5) According to the draft of 15 January (Article XX), members of the Legislative Council had to be citizens of the City over 25 years of age. (6) On the first meeting see No. 110. (7) Trafford Smith, of the Colonial Office, was temporarily attached to the British delegation to the U.N. (8) On the same day, the Palestine Commission submitted to Sir Alexander Cadogan a list of questions on matters of security, immigration and the administrative functions of the Commission. For a detailed account of the questions

concerning immigration and Cadogan's answers see PC Rep. 29 Jan. 1948. See also No. 153, note 1; No. 166, note 6. (9) Wednesday, 21 January, when the Palestine Commission was due to hear Cadogan. (10) See No. 123. The covering note is dated 20 January. (11) President Truman said at a press conference on 15 January that no American forces would be sent to Palestine, but in the long run there would probably be an international police force. (12) Chaim Weizmann. (13) Meyer Weisgal. (14) The British (Selig—S. Brodetsky). (15) See Nos. 128, 137. See also Fischer to Shertok, 14 Jan. 1948 (93.01/2180/12). Fischer had learned of an agreement reportedly reached between Brigadier Clayton of the British Embassy in Cairo, and Lebanon's Prime Minister Riyad al-Sulh, according to which the British would give a free hand to Fawzi Qawuqji's Arab forces to act against Jewish settlements in Galilee after the evacuation of area by the British. (16) 77 Great Russell Street — the address of the London offices of the Jewish Agency and the Zionist Organization.

No. 119

(1) Silver was visiting Palestine for consultations. (2) See minutes of Executive of American Zionist Emergency Council, 6 Jan. 1948 (93.03/67/10). (3) Lourie, replying on 19 January 1948 (93.03/85/20), denied that the Jewish Agency representatives wished the Emergency Council to refrain from popular or political action seeking, through the White House, to obtain a more favourable attitude on part of the State Department. Lourie, too, cited the proceedings of the latest meeting of the Emergency Council. He promised to place Goldstein's letter on the agenda of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive, due to meet on the following day. (At that meeting, the Executive decided to exert pressure aimed at securing arms supplies for the Jews for purposes of self-defence and at the establishment of an international force. See ASJAE, 20 Jan. 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/39). See also Lourie to Goldstein, 12 Jan. 1948 (93.03/85/20); Goldstein wrote on the same day to Eliahu Epstein in Washington, suggesting a clear division of spheres of activity between the Jewish Agency and the Emergency Council. (*Ibid*).

No. 120

(1) Robert S. Marcus, Acting Director, Political Department of World Jewish Congress. (2) See No. 27, note 2; No. 102, note 2.

No. 121

(1) Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs of India. (2) Emanuel Celler, Democratic member of U.S. House of Representatives. (3) See copies of Celler's telegram and Nehru's answer in 93.03/126/7.

No. 122

(1) Golda Meyerson was due to arrive in the United States to campaign on behalf of the United Jewish Appeal. (2) See memorandum by Walter Eytan, 9 Jan. 1948; Jacob Robinson's comments, 26 Jan.; and Eytan's revised memorandum of 30 Jan. (93.03/128/12). (3) Va'adat Hamatzav — the Emergency Committee established in December 1947 by the Jewish Agency and the Va'ad Leumi (General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine). The Committee was to undertake certain administrative functions pending the establishment of the Jewish State, and to undertake preparatory work towards the establishment of the administrative machinery of the State. (4) Aubrey Eban. (5) Count Carlo Sforza. (6) See No. 108. (7) See memorandum "Outline plan for Foreign Office and foreign service of the Jewish State" (93.03/128/12).

No. 123

(1) See No. 110. (2) I.e., until the final evacuation of the British forces from Palestine. See also No. 505, note 8. (Hebrew).

No. 124

(1) See PC Rep., 29 Jan. 1948, par 13. (2) Eliahu Epstein. (3) See Epstein to members of Jewish Agency Executive, 14 Jan. 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/6595). See also Fischer's comments of 19 Jan. 1948. *(Ibid.)*. (4) Roger Garreau, French representative on Trusteeship Council and Working Committee on Jerusalem. (5) Felix Vanthiers, member of one of the groups of experts of Working Committee on Jerusalem.

No. 125

(1) The incoming text of the telegram is dated 21 January 1948, but it was apparently drafted on the previous day. Cf. No. 126. The corrections of faulty decoding (in square brackets) were made in conformity with incoming text of identical telegram sent to New York (of 22 Jan., in file 93.01/2180/12). (2) Marc Jarblum, President

of French Zionist Federation and member of Zionist General Council. (3) See No. 50, note 2. (4) See also No. 97. (5) See Fischer to Blum, 21 Jan. 1948, and attached note (for Parodi). [93.02/183/7].

No. 126

(1) See No. 125 and note 1 there. (2) Alexandre Parodi. (3) Silver met Fischer in the course of a short stay in Paris while on his way to Palestine. (4) Léon Blum.

No. 128

(1) See Nos. 116, 117, 118, 137.

No. 129

(1) See No. 123 (dated 20 Jan. 1948). (2) Mistake in original. Reference is possibly to paragraph 22, printed on *page* 9 of original document. (3) See No. 18, note 4. (4) Appendix not printed here. It includes suggested structure of brigade, with artillery, armour and air support units. It was proposed that the reserve brigade should have two mechanized battalions and reinforced artillery and armoured support. Scheme includes suggestion for a special Air Component. (5) See No. 50 and note 3 there. (6) The declaration was made at a meeting of Sub-Committee 1 of the Ad Hoc Committee of the General Assembly, on 13 November 1947, in reply to a question of the representative of Guatemala, Jorge García Granados. (7) See statement of Foreign Office spokesman on 13 January 1948 in connection with the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, quoted in Jewish Agency memorandum on British policy in Palestine of 2 Feb. 1948 (93.03/94/7). See also *New York Times* of 13 Jan. 1948, citing diplomatic sources in London. (8) Appendix not printed here. It lists required arms and equipment and estimated prices of various items, amounting to 26 million dollars. Expenses on maintenance of militia up to 1 October 1948 (date fixed in General Assembly resolution for establishment of Arab and Jewish states) are estimated at 24 million dollars. (9) The incident occurred in the course of an Arab attack on Kibbutz Nevatim. (10) Part dealing with City of Jerusalem. (11) The Jewish Agency submitted to the Trusteeship Council's Working Committee on Jerusalem observations on the draft statute for the City of Jerusalem. (See memoranda of 23 Jan. and 2 Feb.

1948 in 93.03/128/14). As to the proposed police force — it was merely suggested that the scope of its duties should be enlarged.

No. 131

(1) Not found in files. (2) I.e., the Lehi (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel). (3) The I.Z.L.

No. 132

(1) Cf. No. 118 and note 5 there. (2) The draft statute for City of Jerusalem of 15 January 1948 provided for separate representation in the Legislative Council of the Arab, Jewish and "other" residents. (See No. 118, note 4). The Working Committee did not approve the relevant paragraph and added two alternative proposals. According to one, there was to be a Council composed of 30 members, with equal representation of the "three great religious communities." (See draft statute published on 26 Jan. 1948, U.N. document T/118. Copy in 130.02/2443/1). M. Eliash commented on the subject a few weeks later: "...it is impossible to battle against a firm prejudice, and a fear that the Jews will get predominance in Jerusalem within a short period through immigration." (See Eliash's observation on telegram of Haim Salomon, dated 16 Feb. 1948, 93.03/128/14).

No. 133

(1) In reply, Shertok cabled Ben-Gurion on 29 January 1948: "Will they not then divert all ships to Haifa? Also this would give wrong slant our struggle because issue is immigration and not revenue." (Telegram in file 93.01/2180/23. (2) Apparently Shertok's telegram of 19 January (No. 117). Code number missing in extant copy.

No. 134

(1) Reference is apparently to attempts to prevent ships sailing under Latin American flags from transporting "illegal" immigrants to Palestine. (2) See Leo Kohn's report on a conversation with the American Consul in Jerusalem, according to which the Consulate was instructed to report to Washington on all American Jews engaging in political or military activities in Palestine, so that their passports could be temporarily cancelled. (See report on conversation with W. Porter, 9 Feb. 1948, 68/576/35). (3) See No. 50 and note 3 there. (4) For Welles' reply see No. 179, note 2.

No. 135

(1) The first part of the letter, dealing with restoration of Jewish property, is not printed here. (2) Henri Bonnet, French Ambassador to the U.S.A. (3) Fischer asked Léon Blum to suggest the idea to Parodi. (See letter of 28 Jan. 1948, 93.02/183/7). (4) See Nos. 125, 126.

No. 136

(1) See Nos. 118, 128. (2) See No. 110. (3) See No. 123. (4) See No. 129. (5) See PC Rep. 29 Jan. 1948. (6) See Lourie to Weizmann, 26 Jan. 1948 (93.03/67/6). (7) Emanuel Neumann. (8) See *New York Times* and *New York Herald Tribune* of 21 Jan. 1948. Joseph M. Proskauer, President of the American Jewish Committee, who had formerly opposed the establishment of a Jewish State, demanded implementation of the resolution of 29 November, establishment of an international police force and cancellation of the arms embargo. The State Department, he wrote, should be pressed to act in the spirit of these demands. (9) Golda Meyerson spoke at a conference of the Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.

No. 137

(1) Richard Crossman. (2) Chaim Weizmann. (3) Should apparently read thus. Original reads "Levy Jome" and repeat telegram — "Levy(ies) Jome". (4) Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Pakistani Minister of Foreign Affairs. In November 1947 he had served as Chairman of Sub-Committee 2 of the General Assembly's Ad Hoc Committee which prepared a plan for a unitary Palestinian state. (5) Apparently Sigmund Gestetner. (6) In another telegram Locker reported Zafrulla Khan as saying that he had advised the Arab League to acquiesce in partition, otherwise American and Russian intervention might follow. (See Locker to Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, 26 Jan. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1701).

No. 138

(1) Gershon Hirsch (Avner), Jewish Agency Press Officer and Spokesman. (2) Letter in same file. Yuval commented on press reports of foreign correspondents in Palestine, who usually accepted the version given out in official government bulletins. Yuval enclosed a report by Sam Brewer on Haganah operations in Haifa, which

was published in the *New York Times* of 17 January. The report emphasized the fact that there had been casualties among the civilian Arab population. (3) Avraham Herman (Harman) Director, English Section, Youth and Hechalutz Department, World Zionist Organization. (4) Letter and article untraced. (5) See Shertok to Meyerson, 14 Jan. 1948 (93.03/128/1); Shertok to Hirsch, 16 Jan. 1948 *(ibid.);* see also Kohn to Lourie, 20 Jan. 1948 (93.03/86/8). (6) Reuven Zaslani. (7) Weekly Survey of the American Press, published by the Washington Office of Jewish Agency. Isadore Hamlin was the Agency's Press Officer in Washington. (8) The letter's last sentence, referring to a personal matter, is not printed here.

No. 141

(1) See No. 133. (2) See No. 133, note 1. (3) Reference is apparently to No. 117 (reporting alleged British intention to remain in Palestine). (4) I.e., in Washington. (Eliahu — E. Epstein).

No. 142

(1) Alexander L. Easterman, Political Secretary of World Jewish Congress in Great Britain and Vice-President of Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland. (2) See also covering note of Easterman to Goldmann, of same date, in same file. Easterman explained that his report of the conversation was not a verbatim record and did not include his own remarks. (3) See No. 115, note 2.

No. 143

(1) See No. 139. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 13 above). (2) Reference is apparently to operations of the I.Z.L. See No. 95, note 4; No. 102, note 1. (3) During the last week of January, several hundred Arab irregulars under the command of Fawzi Qawuqji entered Palestine and concentrated in the Nablus–Tubas area. Earlier, 2 battalions of the Arab Liberation Army had entered northern Palestine. All these units had been trained in Syria. (4) Foreign Secretary Bevin stated in the House of Commons on 12 December 1947, that Great Britain would not take part in the implementation of partition but was prepared to help smooth out the transition. In the course of the same debate, Colonial Secretary Creech Jones said that the U.N. Palestine Commission should come to Palestine only shortly before the termination of Mandate. (See *445 H.C. Deb. 5s,* cols. 1374, 1396, 1399). (5) The Jewish Agency spokesman warned at a

press conference on 13 January that unless the blockade of the Jewish quarter of the Old City was removed, the Jews might have to undertake offensive operations. (6) On 20 January 1948. (7) On 22 January a patrol of the Jewish Settlement Police reconnoitring the road ahead of a convoy of vehicles travelling from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, was attacked near Yazur and completely wiped out. (The British authorities did not permit units of the Jewish Settlement Police to use armoured cars outside the areas of the settlements to which they were posted). (8) On 25 January a unit of the Haganah attacked Arab irregulars who were reported to be preparing an attack on Jewish convoys near the Qastal, on the Tel Aviv–Jerusalem road. A British force intervened and opened fire on both sides.

No. 144

(1) A Hebrew text of the telegram is in C.Z.A. S25/9038. (2) Alias of emissary of King Abdallah not printed here. (3) King Abdallah. (4) Literal translation from Hebrew, i.e., Hebron leaders. (5) See No. 90. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 11 above). (6) Alias of representative of King Abdallah not printed here. (7) See No. 90. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 11 above).

No. 145

(1) See No. 13, note 1.

No. 147

(1) Arthur Lourie sent this memorandum to Eliahu Ben-Horin, of the American Zionist Emergency Council, together with a note dated 29 January 1948 in which he wrote, *inter alia*: "The fact is that a massive propaganda has been developed to drive home the crucial importance to the economic and political security of the United States of Middle Eastern oil. It is having bad repercussions on our position in the highest quarters, and our reaction, so far, has been relatively ineffective." (2) See E. V. Rostow, *A National Policy for the Oil Industry,* New Haven, 1948.

No. 148

(1) The first part of the letter, dealing with restoration of Jewish property, is not printed here. Another omitted passage (see below) concerns a decision of the Political Department in Jerusalem to reduce the staff of the Paris Office. (2) See No. 50, note 2.

No. 150

(1) William J. Porter, American Consul in Jerusalem. (2) Kohn cabled to Shertok, on 2 February 1948, a summary of the second paragraph of this report (93.01/2180/12). (3) Wife of the American Consul-General in Jerusalem. (4) I.e., the Interim Committee of the U.N. General Assembly. The Committee was established by the General Assembly in November 1947, in accordance with a proposal submitted by the U.S. delegation. The Interim Committee was authorized, *inter alia,* to consider and report on matters referred to it by the General Assembly, as well as on disputes and situations proposed for inclusion in the General Assembly's agenda. It was also authorized to consider and report on methods to be adopted to give effect to Article 11, par. 1 of the U.N. Charter, which deals with the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security. All U.N. members were to be represented on the Committee, but the eastern bloc countries, which saw its establishment as an attempt to by-pass the Security Council, did not take part in its deliberations. The Interim Committee held its first meeting on 5 January 1948. (5) See No. 94, note 3. (6) In October 1947, a Haganah patrol, which had crossed the border into Lebanon, was arrested by Lebanese security forces. Its five members were sentenced to three years' imprisonment. (7) Lowell C. Pinkerton, U.S. Minister in the Lebanon; former Consul-General in Jerusalem. (8) Cf. No. 139. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 13 above). No. 143 and note 5 there.

No. 151

(1) Telegram untraced. It evidently concerned alleged intentions of British to stay in Palestine. See Nos. 116, 117, 133, 141. (2) See No. 141. (3) See No. 116.

No. 152

(1) See No. 129. (2) Herbert V. Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister, was Chairman of the U.N. General Assembly's Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine in the autumn of 1947. Prominent supporter of partition. (3) See No. 50.

No. 153

(1) Cadogan stated at meeting of the Palestine Commission on 21 January that his Government would not be able to accept the General

Assembly's recommendation to open a port to Jewish immigration not later than 1 February. In a memorandum submitted to the Commission by the British delegation it was explained that compliance with the recommendation would be inconsistent with the British Government's decision not to lay down the Mandate piecemeal and that unlimited immigration and possibly unregulated importation of arms would seriously affect the security situation and maintenance of the Mandatory administration. (See minutes of meeting, 21 Jan. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/5354; Memorandum, undated, 41/117/317). (2) See Ben-Gurion to Shertok, 30 Jan. 1948 (93.03/128/1). Ben-Gurion cabled that despite removal of British forces from Tel Aviv, British control was being maintained by prohibiting certain ships from unloading in Tel Aviv. British troops continued to move in and through Tel Aviv.

No. 154

(1) See text of addresses by Shertok and Horowitz at meeting of U.N. Palestine Commission on 27 January 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/5176). (2) Shertok asked the Commission to arrange for immediate supply of arms to the Jewish forces, and most urgently, of 500 rifles. Shertok argued that this problem constituted a further reason for the immediate establishment of a Jewish Provisional Government Council, which would be able to receive these arms. Alternatively, they should be delivered to the Jewish Agency. Shertok expressed cautious optimism as to the probability that the British would agree to the supply of arms. (3) Shertok urged adoption of a policy of supplying arms to the party defending the U.N. resolution and withholding them from those who tried to shipwreck it. He suggested that the Commission recommend to the Security Council to adopt an appropriate resolution. (4) See No. 129. (5) Shertok explained that an international force was required in order to keep down the number of Jewish casualties and to ensure the availability of the essential components for defence — air, armoured and artillery units. But he pointed out that even if no such force was sent, the Jews would defend their lives and their rights. Shertok recommended that the Great Powers take part in the international force.

No. 155

(1) Menachem Kahany, adviser to the Jewish Agency Delegation to the U.N. (2) See PC Rep. 29 Jan. 1948. (3) See

questions and answers in PC Rep. 12 Mar. 1948. (4) See PC Rep. 16 Feb. 1948. (5) See Jewish Agency memorandum on Arab acts of aggression dated 2 Feb. 1948 (93.03/94/7). See also further memorandum of 13 Mar. 1948, including Arab press cuttings and photographs. *(Ibid.)*. (6) Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter deals with "action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression", while Chapter VI concerns the "pacific settlement of disputes".

No. 156

(1) The wording of the incoming text differs slightly from that of the extant copy of the outgoing text. *Inter alia,* "excellent source" was replaced by "reliable source", "political Washington" — by "politicians Washington". (2) General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, until 7 February 1948.

No. 157

1) See No. 146, on the meeting between President Truman and F. D. Roosevelt Jr. See also ASJAE, 29 Jan. 1948; C.Z.A. Z5/39. (2) Cf. Nos. 116, 141, 151.

No. 158

(1) See also memorandum by Gelber of 19 Feb. 1948 — "Charter observance and the Canadian attitude" (93.03/127/1). (2) See No. 152. (3) Reference is to compromise agreement between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union in regard to the method of implementing the partition resolution. The agreement was reached in the course of the discussion on implementation in the Working Committee in November 1947. Guatemala and Canada were also represented on the Committee; Canada's representative, Lester B. Pearson, played a prominent part in working out the agreement.

No. 159

(1) Reference is obviously to Jewish Agency's request for American financial assistance. See No. 69 and notes there. (2) List of the Jewish Agency's assets and liabilities. (See Gass to Horowitz, 7 Jan. 1948, Elath Papers, file "Chronological XI"). (3) Eliezer Siegfried Hoofien, Chairman of Board of Directors, Anglo-Palestine Bank.

No. 160

(1) According to this paragraph, the Palestine Commission was to establish Provisional Councils of Government "after consultation with the democratic parties and other public organizations of the Arab and Jewish States." The Commission did not agree to grant immediate recognition to the Jewish Agency as sole representative of the Jewish side, and decided to ask it informally "to produce credentials from as many political parties and public organizations as it could." The possibility was also recorded that the Government of Palestine might be asked for its views concerning the various parties and organizations. (See summary of Commission's meetings, 20 and 28 Jan. 1948, 41/117/317). The subject was mentioned in the course of a discussion between the Commission's Secretary, Ralph Bunche, and David Horowitz, representing of the Jewish Agency. (See ASJAE, 29 Jan. 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/39). (2) See also No. 161. (3) Rabbi Itzhak Meir Levin, of the Orthodox non-Zionist Agudat Israel World Movement. (4) Sub-committee of the Va'adat ha-Matzav (Emergency Committee), dealing with all subjects relating to the establishment of the international City of Jerusalem. (See 41/110/126).

No. 161

(1) See No. 160. (2) Cf. No. 160, note 1.

No. 162

(1) The memorandum is filed together with a covering note, dated 30 January 1948, from Shertok to General W.J. Donovan, former Director, Office of Strategic Services, U.S. Shertok noted that the memorandum was being sent at the request of General Donovan, adding that he was free to use it in any way he deemed fit with regard to General Eisenhower or Mr. F[orrestal]. Another copy of this memorandum is filed in 93.03/70/9 together with a covering note from Lourie to Akzin, of February 1948, stating that the memorandum was prepared for F.D. Roosevelt Jr. and "was, I understand, transmitted to Forrestal." (2) Following the signing of a new treaty between Great Britain and Iraq (the Portsmouth Treaty) on 15 January, riots broke out in Iraq, leading to the resignation of the government and to the Prime Minister's flight from Iraq. Early in February the new government decided not to have the treaty ratified. (3) *Sic.* Should read: (February) 1942.

No. 163

(1) See No. 142. (2) Scheme worked out by representatives of an American Cabinet Committee (headed by H. F. Grady), American experts and British officials. The scheme was outlined by Herbert Morrison in the House of Commons in July 1946. The plan envisaged the division of Palestine into four areas: two semi-autonomous provinces — one Arab and one Jewish — and two districts (Jerusalem and the Negev) under the direct control of the central (British) government. The Jewish province was to consist of Eastern Galilee, the Valley of Jezreel, the Beisan area and the coastal plain between Haifa and Tel Aviv. Immigration into the provinces was to be regulated by the central government in accordance with the recommendations of the provinces so long as the government considered that the provinces' economic absorptive capacity was not being exceeded. (3) Cf. No. 176, p. 304.

No. 165

(1) Fernand van Langenhove, Belgian representative at the U.N. and Security Council President in January 1948. (2) On 8 November 1947 the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution condemning propaganda liable to endanger peace or encourage acts of aggression. (3) The U.N. Palestine Commission.

No. 166

(1) See No. 148. (2) Fischer cabled on the following day that Baudoin was due to arrive at Lydda airport on 8 February. (Fischer to Shertok, 3 Feb. 1948, 93.01/2180/12). (3) See No. 162, note 2. (4) Abd-al-Ilah, the Regent of Iraq. (5) On the talk with Mme Suzanne Bidault, of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, see Fischer to Shertok, 3 Feb. 1948 (93.01/2180/12). Fischer cabled that Mme Bidault entirely agreed with the Jewish view. She said her husband (Georges Bidault, Minister of Foreign Affairs) held that any (U.N.) decision must be implemented, even if imperfect or wrong. See also Fischer to Blum, 3 Feb. 1948 (93.02/183/7). (6) On 30 January, Sir Alexander Cadogan transmitted to the Palestine Commission the British Government's answers to the Commission's questions. It was stated, *inter alia*: i) The British Government assumes that the paragraph in the General Assembly's resolution of 29 November providing for a gradual transfer of the Palestine administration to the Palestine Commission, applies only after the termination

of the Mandate. ii) On the date of the termination of the Mandate, it will be open to the Commission to assume full responsibility for the government of Palestine, subject to the overriding military jurisdiction of the G.O.C. in areas still under British occupation. iii) No British personnel can be seconded to the Commission's staff for service in Palestine in view of the British Government's declared resolve not to provide any part of the machinery of implementation. iv) The Mandatory Power will be responsible for the security of the Commission, provided it does not arrive in Palestine earlier than a fortnight before the termination of the Mandate. v) The Mandatory Power cannot facilitate the actual delimitation of frontiers, but is prepared to make available to the Commission all relevant information in its possession. (See PC Rep. 12 Mar. 1948). (7) See, for instance, calendar of events No. 5, attached to Fischer's letter to Blum of 3 Feb. 1948 (93.02/183/7). (8) Original has P.S. not printed here.

No. 168

(1) Copy of memorandum was sent to Shertok and Lourie. (2) Henry L. Stimson, formerly U.S. Secretary of State (1929-33) and Secretary of War (1940-1945). (3) Herbert Hoover, former President of the U.S.A. (1929-33). (4) Robert P. Patterson, former U.S. Under-Secretary of War (1940-45) and Secretary of War (1945-47). (5) Eliahu Ben-Horin, Adviser on Middle Eastern Affairs, American Zionist Emergency Council. (6) General Omar N. Bradley, appointed Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, as of 7 February 1948. (7) See No. 170. (8) Actually, Lieut.-General Herbert R. Harmon was the U.S. Air Force representative on the U.N. Military Staff Committee; the representatives of the Army and Navy were, respectively, Lieut.-General Matthew B. Ridgway and Admiral Henry K. Hewitt. (9) General Carl Spaatz, Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force. (10) Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the U.S.A. (11) Stassen was a prospective Republican candidate for the Presidency. (12) Emanuel Neumann, President of Zionist Organization of America and member of Jewish Agency Executive. (13) The last part of the document, relating to financial and organizational matters of the Jewish War Veterans, is not printed here.

No. 169

(1) George F. Eliot, journalist and commentator. (2) See text in bulletin of 29 Jan. 1948 (93.03/127/1). Gelber spoke at a conference of the American Association for the United Nations on 10 January. See also Eichelberger to Gelber, 13 Jan. 1948; Gelber to Shertok, 30 Jan. 1948. *(Ibid.)*. (3) See Gelber to members of American Section of Jewish Agency Executive, 2 and 25 June 1947 (93.03/93/6). (4) Article in *New York Post* on problem of international force. (5) See also Gelber to Weizmann, 3 Feb. 1948 (C.Z.A. Z6/4/5). Gelber noted that he had stopped reporting on his frequent talks with Major Eliot because of the latter's strained relations with Rabbi Silver.

No. 170

(1) Copy of memorandum was sent to Shertok and Lourie. (2) See also No. 168. (3) See memorandum "Palestine partition and United States security" and covering note from Akzin to Lourie, 5 Feb. 1948 (93.03/70/9). The author contended that American oil interests in the Middle East did not conflict with U.S. support of partition. The memorandum was to be sent to persons close to the administration, on behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council. (4) At a meeting of the Jewish War Veterans in New York.

No. 171

(1) See also Shragai (London) to Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, 3. Feb. 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/1702). Shragai quoted a report published in the *Daily Express,* according to which the British had informed the State Department and the Combined Chiefs of Staff in Washington that among the immigrants on board the *Pan York* and *Pan Crescent* intercepted in December, there were hundreds of militant Communists and that one thousand spoke Russian. Sumner Welles suggested to Epstein on 4 February that the Jewish Agency should refute these allegations in the press, noting that "the present hysteria which is sweeping the country is being reflected in the thinking of key figures in both the Executive and Legislative Branches of this Government." (Letter in 93.03/126/7). On 6 February Shertok asked for urgent information concerning these immigrants: their economic and social background, immigration motives, composition by age groups, party affiliations, method of selection for immigration, explanation for membership in Marxist organizations and service in Red Army. (See Sher-

tok to Sacharov, 6 Feb. 1948, 93.01/2180/23. See also Shertok to Sacharov, 9 Feb. 1948, *ibid.*). See also Nos. 172, 176 (pp. 304–5).

No. 172

(1) See also No. 171 and note 1 there. (2) Michael J. McDermott, Special Assistant to Secretary of State for Press Relations, replied on 18 February 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/8944). He stated that State Department had received only preliminary reports from the British Government, including information that "one thousand of these refugees speak Russian." McDermott suggested that further information be obtained directly from the British Government.

No. 173

(1) The memorandum was sent with covering note from Gass to Shertok, (5 Feb. 1948). Gass reported: "... we are already quite active on the matter, particularly with respect to the press, columnists, etc." (2) Benjamin V. Cohen, formerly Counsellor to the State Department (1945–47). In 1919-21 he had been closely associated as counsellor of the Zionists with the negotiations concerning the drafting of the Palestine Mandate. (3) Richard V. Gilbert, formerly Economic Advisor to U.S. Administration and Director of Research, Office of Price Administration. (4) Harold Leventhal, partner in law firm of Ginsburg, Leventhal & Brown. Had held various appointments in U.S. Administration. (5) Ralph K. Davies, President of the American Independent Oil Company; formerly Acting Director of Oil and Gas Division, U.S. Department of the Interior. (6) Julius A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior. (7) See draft letter to President Truman drawn up by Eban, and note from Epstein to Lourie, 2 Feb. 1948 (93.03/126/7). The letter emphasized the American interest in implementation of partition and called for active American support. See also letter to President Truman from 27 Jewish leaders on behalf of the American Jewish Conference, 5 Feb. 1948 (C.Z.A. Z6/3/13). (8) Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of New York State. In 1944 and again in 1948 he was Republican candidate for the Presidency. (9) Alben W. Barkley, Democratic Senator, Senate Minority Leader. (10) William Averell Harriman, U.S. Secretary of Commerce. (11) Paul H. Douglas, Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago, member of the Democratic Party. (12) Americans for Democratic Action. (13) Edward J. Flynn, Bronx Democratic leader. (14) James Howard Mc-

Grath, U.S. Senator. Chairman, Democratic National Committee. (15) Alger Hiss, President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Formerly Director, Office of Special Political Affairs, Department of State (1945–47). (16) Harding F. Bancroft, Associate Chief, Division of International Security Affairs, Office of United Nations Affairs, Department of State.

No. 174

(1) Gael Sullivan, Vice-Chairman of Democratic National Committee. (2) See also covering note from Lillie Shultz, Director of the Nation Associates. (3) Cf. telegram from Shimoni to Epstein, 11 Feb. 1948, 93.03/2267/26. (See quotation from telegram in corresponding Hebrew note, Main Volume, p. 298). See also Heydt to Shertok, 5 Feb. 1948 (93.01/2180/12); Freda Kirchwey to President Truman, 27 Jan. 1948 — in memorandum "The work of the Nation Associates on Palestine" of 22 Mar. 1948 (W.A.). See also No. 205. (4) Epstein informed Lourie on 12 February that Sullivan had organized a group of five prominent national leaders to discuss the American stand on Palestine with the President. They would tell the President that unless U.S. fully and actively participated in the implementation of partition, he would have to bear the responsibility for the negative effects on the U.N. (See communication in 93.03/126/7).

No. 175

(1) See PC Rep. 16 Feb. 1948.

No. 176

(1) See No. 163. (2) See No. 166, note 6. (3) See PC Rep. 16 Feb. 1948. (4) The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB), established by the General Assembly in October 1947 in an attempt to settle the dispute between Greece and her neighbours. Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania refused to cooperate with the Committee. (5) See No. 172. (6) Statement of Sir Godfrey Collins, Commissioner in charge of the Cyprus detention camps for Jewish immigrants, quoted by Reuter. According to the report, Collins had also stated that no Communist agents had been discovered among the immigrants of the *Pan York* and *Pan Crescent*. Shortly after, Collins said in reply to a question that he *had no knowledge* of Communists among the immigrants. (See M. Cohen to Shertok, 5 Feb. 1948, 93.03/127/8; Hirsch to Stubbs, 18 Feb. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/9310).

No. 177

(1) The main subjects mentioned here were also discussed in the course of an earlier conversation with Fox-Strangways on 2 February. (See report in C.Z.A. S25/7725). (2) Yehoshua Behar (Shai), Deputy Director of the Immigration Department of the Jewish Agency. (3) Giora Josephthal, Director, Absorption Branch of Immigration Department of Jewish Agency, Jerusalem. (4) Apparently Yehezkiel Sacharov (Sahar), Director of the Security Authorities Section and Special Section of the Jewish Agency's Political Department. (5) Security Zone B of the British forces in Jerusalem. (6) Kohn returned to the subject in a letter to Fox-Strangways, 6 February 1948 (68/577/36). He noted that in spite of the Jewish Agency's representations to the military authorities, no measures had been taken to prevent an attack against the Jewish Agency building from the British Security Zone.

No. 178

(1) Victor Khuri. (2) Hamid Frangie. (3) An additional sentence, which is not part of the telegram to Sasson, is not printed here.

No. 179

(1) In a covering note to Shertok and Lourie (of 9 Feb. 1948, in same file), Akzin reported that he had written to Welles at the suggestion of Emanuel Neumann. (2) Copy in file 93.03/66/4. Replying to Akzin's letter of 23 January (No. 134), Welles wrote that in his view the supreme issue was the authority of the U.N. and its ability to carry out its decisions, and he had emphasized this issue in his syndicated article which was to be published 27 January. Welles agreed that the American embargo on arms for Jewish defence in Palestine was not furthering the purposes set forth in the U.N. Charter. (3) See No. 134. (4) See No. 170, note 3. (5) For Welles' answer see No. 217, note 1.

No. 180

(1) A similar telegram was sent to the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. (2) Tentative deciphering in Jerusalem. Deciphered New York text reads: "being". (3) Cf. No. 137.

No. 181

(1) The memorandum was sent with covering note from Fischer to Baron Alain de Rothschild, requesting early forwarding to René Mayer, French Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs. (2) See No. 166, note 5. (3) Jacques Augarde, Under-Secretary of State in charge of Muslim affairs.

No. 182

(1) Thus in incoming text.

No. 183

(1) Chaim Weizmann. (2) Apparently Trafford Smith, of British Colonial Office. Cf. No. 118, and note 7 there. (3) Hebrew: The Great Committee (i.e., the British Cabinet). (4) The U.N. Palestine Commission wished to initiate a number of preparatory measures towards the future establishment of Jewish and Arab militias in Palestine. The British Government refused to allow the Commission to undertake such activities except, perhaps, "some preliminary steps" during the last fortnight before the termination of the Mandate. (See PC Rep. 12 Mar. 1948). (5) Mistake in original ("under"). (6) Cf. Nos. 116, 128, 133, 151. (7) See No. 163, note 2. (8) See No. 160, note 1. (9) Ben-Zvi and Remez to Shertok, 4 Feb. 1948 (93.03/128/2). (10) On the negotiations with Agudat Israel see in file 93.03/88/15. (11) No. 182. (12) Locker to Lourie, 6 Feb. 1948 (93.03/127/8).

No. 184

(1) Of the U.N. Trusteeship Department. (2) Eduardo Morgan, a member of the U.N. Palestine Commission, was told in a conversation with members of the British delegation on 4 February that up to 15 May the Jewish monthly immigration quota would continue to be 1500, half of the immigrants to come from the Cyprus detention camps. (See report dated 5 Feb. 1948, 41/117/317). (3) Not printed here. See Kohn to Lourie, 3 Feb. 1948 (93.03/128/2).

No. 185

(1) Cf. No. 160. (2) Not printed here. The original telegram (Ben-Zvi and Remez to Shertok, 4 Feb. 1948) is in file 93.03/128/2.

No. 186

(1) *Sic.* Reference is evidently to the financial agreement between France and the Lebanon, signed on 6 February 1948. Syria refused to sign a similar agreement and announced the separation of the Syrian currency from the French franc. See also No. 189.

No. 187

(1) Letter in file 93.03/86/8. The enclosed material, except for report mentioned below, is not in file. (2) Report on meeting with representatives of the International Red Cross on 1 February 1948 (*ibid.*). The main subjects discussed were: a) Adherence to accepted rules of warfare in Palestine. b) Security of the civilian population. On the Red Cross mission to Palestine, headed by Dr. Roland Marti, see Kahany to members of Jewish Agency Executive, 19 Jan. 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/5702). (3) George Wadsworth, the American Ambassador to Iraq. In 1936–40 he had served as Consul-General in Jerusalem.

No. 188

(1) The letter was written in the wake of a meeting between Shertok, Silver and Lie on 8 February. See Nos. 190, 204 (pp. 344–5). [Both Hebrew. For English summaries see pp. 14, 15 above]. (2) Lie replied on 11 February 1948 (93.03/130/3). He informed Shertok that: a) An advance party of the Secretariat attached to the Palestine Commission would depart for Palestine within a few days. b) The Commission had informed the British Government of its dissatisfaction with the latter's attitude concerning the time of the Commission's arrival in Palestine. c) The Commission would consult the Jewish Agency about the establishment of the Jewish Provisional Council of Government. d) The approval of the statute for the City of Jerusalem and the appointment of a governor were on the agenda of the next meeting of the Trusteeship Council. e) The Palestine Commission was about to submit to the Security Council a special report on the security problem, which undoubtedly would be exhaustively discussed by the Council. f) He himself would consult responsible representatives whenever such consultations could effectively serve the cause of the U.N.

No. 189

(1) See No. 186. (2) Léon Blum. (3) Alexandre Parodi. (4) See No. 186, note 1. (5) Paragraphs 6 and 7 not printed here.

No. 191

(1) Matthew J. Connelly, Secretary to the President, replied on 12 February that the President would not be able to see Weizmann before the latter's departure for Palestine. (W.A.).

No. 192

(1) Silver reported at a meeting of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive about meetings with Senators Vandenberg and Taft as well as with the Democratic Senator McGrath and House of Representatives Minority Whip McCormack. Silver raised the questions of a Jewish militia ("seemed acceptable to them") and the idea of an international force for Palestine ("it had at least not evoked an adverse reaction"). According to Silver, the interviews had strengthened the view that it was best to present the issue of implementation as a test case for the U.N. (See ASJAE, 12 Feb. 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/40). (2) See No. 191 and note 1 there.

No. 193

(1) The central committee of the Jewish communities in Bulgaria.

No. 194

(1) The first part of the telegram (printed here) was sent on the same day to Haim Berman in Jerusalem. (C.Z.A. S25/1702). (2) The second part of the telegram is not printed here.

No. 195

(1) See report from Sofia, dated 7 Feb. 1948 (93.03/65/13), concerning two ships said to be about to sail from Varna with 1400 young Jewish immigrants aboard. According to the report, prospective immigrants were required (by the Bulgarian authorities) to present certificates confirming membership in the Communist Party or to prove that they were Party sympathisers. Such certificates, it was reported, could be bought from local Communists. In fact, no immigrants' ship sailed from Bulgaria, but a ship did sail from Yugoslavia on 19 February with a group of Jewish youth from Bulgaria. See

also Horowitz to Kaplan, 16 Feb. 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/1702); Ben-Gurion diary, 13 Feb. 1948.

No. 196

(1) See No. 143, note 3. (2) The Iraqi Colonel Abd al-Wahhab Ali Shayhani. For efforts made in December 1947 to arrange a truce in the Jaffa–Tel Aviv area see Ben-Gurion diary, 9, 10 Dec. 1947; Z. Sharef, *Three Days,* p. 201. (3) Ehud Ueberall (Avriel) was in charge of arms purchases for the Haganah in Europe, and Yehuda Arazi ("Alon") — in the United States. (4) See No. 200. In the copies sent to the Palestine Commission and to members of the Security Council two sentences were omitted — from "Next six..." up to "...fatal factor." (See text in file 93.03/94/7). A similar version was sent to Secretary of State Marshall. (See Epstein to Marshall, 14 Feb. 1948, Elath Papers, file "State Department").

No. 197

(1) In April 1946 Iran and the Soviet Union agreed to establish a joint oil company for exploitation of the oil resources of Northern Iran. The agreement was debated in the Iranian Parliament in October 1947, but was not ratified.

No. 198

(1) No. 159. (2) See No. 173.

No. 199

(1) The second part of the document, reporting on the conversation with Gladwyn Jebb, is not printed here. (2) See ASJAE, 4, 8 Feb. 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/40. (3) See No. 50. (4) The committee was to propose ways for organizing a military force which would be at the disposal of the U.N. On the committee and the differences of opinion which arose in the course of its discussions see *Yearbook of the United Nations 1947/48,* p. 493.

No. 200

(1) See No. 196 and note 4 there. (2) See PC Rep. 16 Feb. 1948, chapters VI, VII. (3) No report on the meeting with General McNaughton has been found.

No. 201

(1) See No. 166. (2) Apparently Nos. 148, 189, 194. (3) See memorandum of Jewish Agency submitted to the U.N. Palestine Commission, dated 2 February 1948: "Acts of aggression provoked and prepared by Arab states in concert with the Palestine Arab Higher Committee against the Jewish population of Palestine in an attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by the General Assembly's resolution on the future government of Palestine." (Copy in file 93.03/94/7). (4) See memorandum by Epstein of 14 January 1948 on French policy and attitudes of various French representatives during the discussion of the Palestine question in the General Assembly in the autumn of 1947. (C.Z.A. S25/6595). The report is based mainly on information obtained from two senior officials of the French Embassy in Washington. It was stated, *inter alia,* that René Neuville, the French Consul-General in Jerusalem, had repeatedly expressed opposition to the partition of Palestine. Fischer commented on this memorandum in a critical note, stating, *inter alia,* that Neuville had been in Paris during the second half of November and had tried to exert his influence in favour of partition. (See note of 19 Jan. 1948, *ibid.).* (5) Alexandre Parodi. (6) Max Buset, Chairman of the Belgian Socialist Party. (7) Memorandum not in file.

No. 202

(1) See No. 204, pp. 347–8. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 15 above). (2) See No. 67 and note 1 there; No. 204 (Cf. note 1 above). (3) Refers to difficulties encountered in course of negotiations with Yugoslav authorities for permission to transport through Yugoslavia arms purchased in Czechoslovakia for the Haganah. (4) Ehud Ueberall (Avriel). (5) *Sic.* Should apparently read: "intervention". (6) See also entry in Ben-Gurion diary, 13 Feb. 1948, based on report of Zalman Lifshitz: "Moshe [Shertok] spoke with Gromyko, told him about the Czech arms for the Arabs in Egypt. Gromyko expressed regret, asked about the state of our equipment, what was required, what could be brought in after 15 May, whether the British would not then impose a blockade. (7) For Ben-Gurion's reply see No. 211.

No. 203

(1) See entry in Ben-Gurion diary, 13 Feb. 1948. See also No. 204. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 15 above).

No. 205

(1) A similar telegram was sent to Sacharov in Tel Aviv (130.09/2337/1). Corrections in square brackets are in conformity with text deciphered in Tel Aviv. (2) On the objectives of Zaslani's visit to London see No. 258. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 18 above). (3) The Council of the Arab League met on 7-22 February 1948. It rejected most demands put forward by the Mufti, Haj Amin al-Husseini, concerning, *inter alia*, the establishment of a provisional Palestinian Government headed by himself, and the transfer of the Arab Offices abroad to his control. The Council decided to establish a "Palestine Committee" composed of: a) Secretary-General of the Arab League (Chairman); b) several representatives of the Arab States and the Chairman of the Arab Higher Committee; c) a military expert (Taha al-Hashimi, Inspector-General of the Arab Liberation Army. The Secretary-General of the League announced establishment of this Committee on 15 February.

No. 206

(1) Andrew J.L. McNaughton, Security Council President in February 1948. (2) No report on this meeting has been found. (3) See No. 38. (4) See also Gelber to McNaughton, 20 Feb 1948 (93.03/69/16).

No. 208

(1) See Appendix A, Main Volume, p. 800. (2) Ben-Zvi and Remez cabled Shertok on 18 February 1948 that the Executive of the Va'ad Le'umi had decided unanimously that the Jewish Provisional Council of Government would be composed of members of the Executives of the Va'ad Le'umi and of the Jewish Agency. If necessary, the Council would appoint portfolio holders from among its members. It was also stated that the Va'ad Leu'mi appreciated the importance of co-opting representatives of groups not represented on the two Executives "without being dependent on their consent or refusal." (C.Z.A. S25/1702).

No. 209

(1) Pierre-Olivier Lapie, Socialist member of the French National Assembly, Alternate Representative at the Second Session of the U.N. General Assembly, formerly (1946–47) Secretary of State at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2) The Commission for Foreign Affairs of the French National Assembly. (3) Letter in same file.

No. 210

(1) Following a prolonged deadlock in negotiations between Tapline and the Syrian Government on the construction of an oil pipeline from Saudi Arabia through Syria, the Company's representative, William J. Lenahan, on 21 August 1947 sent a letter to the Syrian Prime Minister, warning him that unless a convention was signed by 30 August, the Company would withdraw its request for transit privileges. Additional negotiations produced an agreement according to which Lenahan withdrew his letter and the Syrian Prime Minister signed the convention on 1 September 1947. (See *FRUS*, 1947, V, pp. 664-5 — Editorial Note). (2) *Sic.* Reference is apparently to J. R. Suman.

No. 211

(1) See No. 202. (2) Addition in square brackets cabled separately on 19 February (in same files).

No. 212

(1) Incoming text reads: "consisting chiefly".

No. 213

(1) See No. 183 and note 8 there. See also Nos. 160, 161. (2) See Bunche to Shertok, 16 Feb. 1948 (93.03/94/7). Actually, Bunche, at the instance of the Palestine Commission, also approached parties and organizations which had been reported by the Jewish Agency to have agreed to be represented by it in discussions concerning the establishment of the Provisional Council of Government. On 20 February letters signed by Bunche were sent to 21 bodies, inquiring whether they agreed to be represented by the Jewish Agency or preferred to be consulted directly. (See Bunche to Lourie, 23 Feb. 1948, 93.03/94/7; letter includes list of 21 bodies and sample copies of letters addressed to them). (3) Ihud — association for the furthering of Jewish–Arab cooperation. It advocated a bi-national state in Palestine. Its main spokesman was J.L. Magnes. (4) Jewish Farmers' Federation of Palestine. (5) Per Federspiel. (6) Last sentence missing from incoming text. Shertok cabled on the same day to Sharef an urgent request for information concerning the negotiations on the composition of the Provisional Council of Government (93.01/2180/23).

No. 214

(1) Two opening paragraphs not printed here. (2) Syria's representative at the U.N. (3) See No. 201. (4) Alexandre Parodi. (5) Ben-Gurion said at a press conference on 4 February that the Jewish State would have no capital city because Jewish history recognized no capital except Jerusalem. The seat of the Government would be determined by the State's legislative institutions. (6) See quotation from Fischer's letter of 23 Feb. 1948 (93.03/128/10) in corresponding Hebrew note (Main Volume, p. 361). No further information has been found. (7) A postscript concerning enclosed press cuttings is not printed here.

No. 215

(1) See No. 173.

No. 216

(1) Maurice Perlzweig, head of Department of International Affairs of the World Jewish Congress and its representative at the U.N. The telegram, which evidently referred to the activity of W.J.C. on behalf of Jews in Arab countries, has not been found. There is no further reference to this matter in Fischer's correspondence. (2) The U.N. Palestine Commission. (3) *Sic.* Reference is apparently to Roger Garreau, French representative on the Trusteeship Council and member of the Working Committee on Jerusauem. (4) Brigadier Charles M. Drury. See Gelber to members of Jewish Agency Executive, 16 Jan. 1948 (C.Z.A. Z5/436).

No. 217

(1) Copy in 93.03/66/4. Replying to Akzin's letter of 5 February (No. 179), Welles told him that he was willing to try to advance in influential quarters the consideration set forth in the memorandum (see there, and No. 170, note 3), although he doubted whether they would convince purely military circles. He suggested that the most effective method would be to persuade prominent senators that an international force to enforce partition was essential in order to prevent war in the Middle East and maintain the authority of the U.N. (2) See *New York Herald Tribune,* 17 Feb. 1948. Welles criticized the ineffectiveness of the U.N. and of the U.S. Government in regard to the implementation of the U.N. resolution on Palestine. He warned that unless a U.N. force was sent to Palestine, the ensuing hostilities

might bring about the intervention of Soviet forces and endanger the West's oil supplies. What is more, inaction would result in a collapse of the U.N. (3) The Conference, which had been convened by the American Zionist Emergency Council, was attended by 800 American Jewish leaders. It condemned "the sabotage of the U.N. resolution by the British Government" and the policy pursued by the U.S. Government. It called upon the latter to reassert its initiative in the U.N. and to give unequivocal support to the implementation of partition, to support the formation of a Jewish militia and an international force, and to permit the supply of arms to the Jewish defence forces. (Text of resolutions enclosed with memorandum of Abe Tuvim of 17 Feb. 1948, C.Z.A. Z6/4/5). (4) *Sic.* Should apparently read: "United States".

No. 218

(1) I.e., invite parties and groups not represented in the Asefat ha-Nivharim (Elected Assembly of the Jews of Palestine) to appoint representatives to the Provisional Council of Government. (2) Executives of Jewish Agency and of Va'ad Le'umi.

No. 219

(1) On 20 February Fischer had met Gabriel Bonneau, Director of the African-Levant Department in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (See Fischer to Lapie, 22 Feb. 1948, 93.02/172/9). (2) Substance of proposal unknown. It was probably made in context of preliminary contacts prior to the discussion of the Palestine question by the Security Council due on 24 February. (3) Henri Bonnet, the French Ambassador to the U.S.

No. 220

(1) There is no record of this meeting in the files of the Jewish Agency Political Department or in those of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. But see the report of R. Lovett in *FRUS*, 1948, V, pp. 640-3. The meeting was also attended by E. Epstein on behalf of the Jewish Agency and by F. Wilkins of the State Department's Division of Near Eastern Affairs. According to Lovett's report, Shertok and Epstein called "for the purpose of expressing the views of the Jewish Agency with regard to British activities in Palestine since the adoption of the General Assembly Resolution of November 29 and for the purpose of ascertaining what action the U.N. might take during the forth-

coming Security Council discussions." See also Nos. 221, 318 (p. 519). (2) Aubrey Eban and David Horowitz met Azzam Pasha in London on 15 September 1947. According to Eban's report, they suggested that the time was ripe for Arab–Jewish reconciliation and cooperation on the basis of the UNSCOP report (recommending partition with economic union), suggested the integration of the Jewish State in the development projects of the region and proposed that the Jews, the Arab League and the U.N. guarantee the Arab States against violation of their frontiers by the Jewish State. Azzam Pasha categorically rejected these suggestions. He said that the Arabs regarded the Jews as an alien and transient element in the region. The Jews could only establish their state by breaking Arab resistance, but even if they were successful, it was unlikely that the Arabs would ever accept the existence of a Jewish State in their midst. The Jews could only reach an understanding with the Arabs if they abandoned Zionism and were content with autonomous regions within an Arab society. (See memorandum of Eban to members of Jewish Agency Executive, 19 Sept. 1947, 93.03/2226/38). (3) See documentation on cooperation between Haj Amin al-Husseini and German S.S. officers in 1943–44, in file 93.03/72/5. (4) See No. 14. (5) See No. 70, p. 98. (6) Early on 22 February part of Ben Yehuda Street, in the centre of the Jewish part of Jerusalem, was destroyed by an explosion of 3 British military vehicles which had been escorted to the location by an armoured car of the Palestine Police. About 50 people were killed. An inquiry established that the perpetrators probably were British army and police deserters. (See telegram from Kaplan to Shertok, 27 Feb. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1702).

No. 221

(1) See report on Weizmann's meeting with Colonial Secretary Creech Jones on 18 February (W. A.). (2) Richard Crossman. (3) *Sgan* — literally (Hebrew): deputy. Reference is to Under-Secretary of State Lovett. See also No. 220. (4) Eliahu Epstein. (5) I.e., the British (Selig — S. Brodetsky). (6) *Va'ad Habitachon* — literally (Hebrew): the Security Committee; i.e., the Security Council. (7) On the same day (22 February), the exclusion of Palestine from the sterling area and the freezing of the Palestinian sterling balances in the United Kingdom was officially announced in London. On the following day, the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive decided to establish an ad hoc committee to deal

with the problems resulting from the British declaration. (See ASJAE, 23 Feb. 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/40). See also: telegram from Nathan, Ginsburg, Boukstein and Gass to Kaplan of 22 Feb. 1948, concerning the demands which should be put to the British Government in this regard (C.Z.A. S25/1702); comments of Hoofien and Horowitz dated 23 Feb. 1948 (93.03/128/2); memorandum by Hoofien and Horowitz, dated 23 Feb. 1948: "Observations on the recent action of the British Government relative to the Palestine currency" (C.Z.A. Z5/409 I). (8) Karel Lisicky, Chairman of the U.N. Palestine Commission, told Horowitz that in his opinion the Commission had no authority to interfere in this matter before 15 May and that he would convene the Commission in order to discuss the problem. (See Horowitz to Kaplan, 22 Feb. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1702). (9) For suggestions regarding composition of Provisional Council of Government see No. 208 and note 2 there.

No. 222

(1) The Ben Yehuda Street explosion — see No. 220, note 6. (2) On 1 February the offices of the *Palestine Post* in Jerusalem were wrecked by the explosion of a car which had reportedly been parked by three British police officers. (See Kohn to Shertok, 5 Feb. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1702; report transmitted to Fox-Strangways on 4 Feb. 1948, 68/576/35). (3) The decision to appeal to the Security Council was taken at a meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive on 23 February. Leo Kohn, who disagreed with this decision, sent Shertok the text of a draft telegram, also representing the views of Walter Eytan and Gershon Hirsch, with instructions to request Trygve Lie to propose that the Security Council send a military mission to investigate the situation. No further action was taken on this suggestion. No communication to the Trusteeship Council has been found. (See two letters from Kohn to Shertok dated 24 Feb. 1948, 93.03/86/8; draft telegram, 22 Feb. 1948, 93.01/2180/12).

No. 223

(1) Contents of conversation were cabled to New York (Locker to Shertok, 25 Feb. 1948, 93.01/2180/12). (2) On 12 February British soldiers arrested 4 Haganah members in Jerusalem and delivered them to an Arab mob. All were killed and their bodies mutilated. See also Kohn to Shertok and Locker, 18 Feb. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1702. (3) It is not clear to which particular crossing this refers. Between

January and March 1948, several units of the Arab Liberation Army entered Palestine by way of Damia and Sheikh Hussein bridges. (4) Some weeks before, the Jewish Agency bought 20 dismantled Auster planes and one Oxford plane from British army surpluses. In the middle of February the Jewish Agency was informed that the assembly of the planes could not be permitted. (See Zaslani to Shertok, 20 Jan. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1701; Kohn to Shertok, 17 Feb. 1948, 93.03/128/2; Ben-Gurion diary, 23 Jan. 1948, 1 Feb. 1948). (5) Reference is to the increased annual grant of the Palestine Government to the Supreme Moslem Council. Leo Kohn had asked Locker to raise the question with the Colonial Office, as the money could be expected to be used for military purposes. (See telegram of 20 Feb. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1702).

No. 224

(1) Theodore O. Thackrey, Editor and Publisher of the *New York Post Home News.*

Editorial Note before No. 225 (Main Volume, p. 379)

On 24 February the Security Council discussed the first monthly report and the first special report (on security) of the U.N. Palestine Commission (See PC Rep. 29 Jan., 16 Feb. 1948). The discussions of the Palestine question continued until 5 March. The Chairman of the Commission and the representatives of Egypt and Lebanon were invited to take part, and a representative of the Jewish Agency was invited to attend. It was agreed that a representative of the Arab Higher Committee would also be invited if the Committee requested it, but no such request was received. The meeting of 24 February opened with a report by the Chairman of the Commission (Lisicky), who emphasized the need for an outside military force in Palestine. The U.S. representative (Austin) said that while the Security Council was authorized to take forceful measures with respect to Palestine in order to remove a threat to international peace, it was not within its power to enforce a political settlement such as partition. On the following day, Austin submitted a draft resolution. (See English text in corresponding Hebrew note, Main Volume, pp. 379–80). Another draft resolution was submitted by the representative of Colombia (López). It provided for consultations between the permanent members of the Security Council with a view to joint action on behalf of the U.N. to preserve peace and, pending the results of such consultations, for the

appointment of a Security Council sub-committee whose tasks would be: a) to seek an agreement between the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee; b) to examine the advisability of calling an extraordinary session of the General Assembly to reconsider the resolution of 29 November 1947. Furthermore, the Security Council was to request the British Government to postpone the termination of the Mandate until 15 July 1948. The representatives of Syria and Egypt (al-Khuri and Fawzi) maintained that the General Assembly was not competent to decree partition, which would never be accepted by the Arabs. The representative of the Jewish Agency (Shertok) spoke on 27 February. He said that the Arabs were determined to use force in order to substitute the solution rejected by the U.N. for the solution it had adopted, and argued that the General Assembly had competence to fill the vacuum created by the termination of the Mandate. Shertok welcomed the measures provided for in clause 1 and in the opening passage and sub-paragraph (b) of clause 2 of the operative part of the American draft resolution. But he objected to sub-paragraph 2(c), especially in view of Austin's explanation that the purpose of the proposed consultations should be "to make every effort to get an agreement on the basis of the General Assembly recommendation for the underlying political difficulty." Such consultations, he argued, were liable to lead to new delays and jeopardize the implementation of partition, which was "the last and final compromise and irreducible minimum" acceptable to the Jews. On the same day, the Belgian representative (Nisot) submitted a revised draft resolution, omitting clause 1 (providing for acceptance by the Council of the requests addressed to it by the General Assembly) and including an instruction to the proposed sub-committee to report to the Council on its consultations and relevant recommendations. The representative of the U.S.S.R. (Gromyko), speaking on 2 March, said that the proposed consultations should be direct and not within a committee and that their results should be submitted to the Council within 10–15 days. He objected to further consultations with the Palestine Commission and with the two parties. The Council voted on 5 March. The Belgian amendment was rejected, but so were clauses 1, 2(b) and 2(c) of the U.S. draft resolution. The resolution adopted by the Council represented in its operative part a revised version of the opening passage and sub-paragraph 2(a) of the American draft. (See English text in corresponding Hebrew note, Main Volume, pp. 380–1). The resolution was adopted by 8 votes in favour (Belgium,

Canada, China, Colombia, France, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R. and U.S.A.), with 3 abstentions (Argentina, Syria and U.K.). [See *SCOR, Third Year*, Nos. 16–35, pp. 255 ff.; *SCOR, Third Year, Supplement I–III 1948*, pp. 30–1).

No. 227

(1) Jacob Robinson, Legal Counsel of the Jewish Agency in the U.S. (2) Moshe Toff, in charge of Latin American Affairs, Jewish Agency (U.S.). (3) The representatives of Argentina and Colombia. (4) The representatives of Bolivia and Panama. (5) See text, Main Volume, pp. 379–80. (6) See Appendix A, Main Volume, pp. 797–8. (7) See Appendix A, Main Volume, pp. 816 ff. (8) In the voting on the General Assembly's resolution of 29 November 1947.

No. 229

(1) Marshall refused to comply, explaining that the President's proclamation of 14 February 1947 defining arms, ammunitions and implements of war, included armour plate. (See Marshall to Epstein, 9 Mar. 1948, 93.03/126/7).

No. 230

(1) See No. 194.

No. 231

(1) Walter Loridan, Director-General of the Political Department of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2) See Editorial Note, p. 93. (3) See No. 50, note 4.

No. 232

(1) See No. 231. (2) No telegram to Max Buset, Chairman of the Belgian Socialist Party, has been found, but see telegram from Eban to Ferdman (Brussels), asking him to explain the matter to "our friend", (Telegram of 28 Feb. 1948, 93.03/126/1). (3) See telegrams from Eban to Locker (London) of 28 Feb. 1948 (93.03/127/8), and Shertok to Locker (Brussels) of 1 Mar. 1948, *ibid*, suggesting arguments which might induce Belgium to withdraw its opposition to the American draft resolution.

No. 233

(1) See No. 1, note 13.

No. 234

(1) Cf. No. 207. (2) Necmettin Sadak. (3) See No. 162, note 2.

No. 235

(1) Jean Bénard, First Secretary at the French Embassy, Washington. (2) See Editorial Note, p. 93. (3) Epstein cabled this information to Fischer on 27 February, adding that the French Ambassador in Washington (Bonnet) had promised to convey the Jewish views to his Government and to ask that France support the General Assembly's recommendations in the Security Council (93.01/2180/23). On Parodi's reports see No. 241.

No. 236

(1) See Editorial Note, p. 93. (2) See article "Palestine in the air" in issue of 26 February.

No. 237

(1) *Sic.* Reference is obviously to Austin's statement on 24 February — see Editorial Note, p. 93. (2) Camille Chamoun, the representative of Lebanon, proposed in the General Assembly on 29 November 1947 that a further attempt be made to reach a compromise, and enumerated a number of principles which were mostly in accord with the minority's proposals for a federal Palestinian state. U.S. representative Johnson requested that in view of the failure of previous attempts to reach a compromise, the General Assembly proceed to vote immediately. (*See GAOR, 2nd Sess., Plenary* II pp. 1411–13, 1415–17).

No. 238

(1) See Freda Kirchwey to Silver and Shertok, 25 Feb. 1948 (93.03/129/10). Freda Kirchwey expressed concern about American policy in regard to the implementation of partition, adding that she was "anxious to be reassured that the Jewish Agency will not fall into trap laid by State Department and will refuse to be drawn into discussions leading to a compromise of partition resolution..." (2) See Editorial Note, p. 94.

No. 239

(1) Handwritten notation on a copy of memorandum sent to Fischer reads: "Internal information compiled by our Arab Department. Haim Berman, 4 March 1948." Sasson cabled a summary to Shertok on 1 March (93.03/2267/26). (2) See No. 162, note 2. (3) The revolution occurred on 17 February. (4) Mistake in original ("with"). (5) Azzam Pasha declared on 16 February that if an international force was sent to Palestine, the armies of the Arab States would intervene against it.

No. 240

(1) See No. 218. See also proposed composition of Provisional Council of Government in document dated 1 March 1948 (93.03/88/15). The allocation of representatives to the various parties was as follows: a) Parties represented in Elected Assembly of the Jews of Palestine: Mapai — 10, Mapam — 3, General Zionists — 4, Mizrahi and Hapoel Hamizrahi — 5, Wizo — 1, Aliya Hadasha — 1, Yemenites— 1. b) Parties not represented in Elected Assembly: Ihud Ezrahi — 1, Sephardim — 1, Revisionists — 1, Agudat Israel and Poalei Agudat Israel — 2, Communists — 1.

No. 241

(1) See Editorial Note, p. 93. (2) See Appendix A, Main Volume, pp. 797–8. (3) See No. 232. (4) Léon Blum. (5) On Parodi's reports to Paris see No. 235. (6) The group headed by Peter Bergson (Hillel Kook) founded the Hebrew Committee for National Liberation and the American League for a Free Palestine, which demanded that a Jewish State be established in the whole of Palestine. They supported the I.Z.L. and denied the right of the Jewish Agency to represent the entire Hebrew nation. (7) See Fischer to Shertok, 26 Feb. 1948 (93.03/128/10). Baron Guy de Rothschild suggested that Fischer initiate explanatory talks with French Government about the possibility of including the Jewish State in the franc bloc; he himself would be prepared to undertake preliminary talks. Shertok replied that Horowitz would presumably discuss the matter with Kaplan, and he was therefore taking no initiative. (Telegram of 4 Mar. 1948, *ibid.*). (8) One paragraph not printed here. (9) In reply, Shertok cabled on 4 March (see note 7) that Fischer's absence from Paris while Security Council was in session was inadvisable.

No. 242

(1) See Editorial Note, p. 93. (2) See No. 50, note 4.

Editorial Note before No. 243 (Main Volume, p. 406)

On 2 March 1948 an Advance Party of the U.N. Palestine Commission arrived in Palestine. It consisted of six officials of the U.N. Secretariat, headed by Pablo Azcarate. The Commission decided to send the Advance Party in view of the British refusal to agree to the early arrival of the Commission itself and following a British suggestion that such a group be sent "for the purpose of finding accommodation and making arrangements for necessary facilities." (See PC Rep. 12 Mar. 1948, p. 9). Azcarate said at an informal press conference in Jerusalem on 9 March that the Advance Party was not a political body and that the Commission itself would deal with all political aspects at Lake Success. Azcarate went on to describe the Advance Party's tasks — see extract (English) in corresponding Hebrew note, Main Volume, p. 406 (quoted from report dated 15 Mar. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/5354).

No. 244

(1) See No. 216. (2) See Editorial Note, p. 93.

No. 245

(1) This report was sent together with Fischer's letter to Shertok of 8 March 1948 (No. 265). (2) Cadogan stated at a meeting of the Palestine Commission on 14 January that "the Jewish story that the Arabs are the attackers and the Jews the attacked is not tenable... the Jews are trying to consolidate the advantages gained at the General Assembly by a succession of drastic operations designed to intimidate and cure the Arabs of any desire for further conflict." (See PC Rep. 29 Jan. 1948). See also No. 153, note 1; No. 166, note 6.

No. 246

(1) See memorandum on Hindu–Zionist relations by K.M. Panikkar (member of the Indian delegation to Second Session of U.N. General Assembly [1947] and Indian Ambassador to China from April 1948), dated 8 April 1947, (C.Z.A. S25/9029). Panikkar wrote that under the prevailing circumstances Hindu opinion would back Islam in all matters in which the latter felt strongly. But there was widespread sympathy in India for the Jews of Palestine, which would come to

the surface after the establishment of a Moslem State in India. According to Panikkar, the Zionists had neglected to create understanding for their claims in India, and they must realize the importance of India's future role in Asia. On the Hindu side, there was appreciation for the potential importance of a Zionist Palestine for the defence of India, as a counterweight to an alliance of Islamic countries. Panikkar suggested that the Zionists prepare the ground by a programme of cautious measures, e.g.: a) establishment of a Hebrew chair at a Hindu University and of a chair for Sanskrit and Indology at the Hebrew University; b) supply of technical and scientific personnel to India; c) appointment of a Jewish Agency representative in New Delhi. Arye Levavi wrote in the margin of this document on 3 March 1948: "I am very impressed by this short memorandum. Both the universities proposal and the representation proposal are good and can be realized if the required money is available." (2) The conference was held in New Delhi between 23 March and 2 April 1947. The Jews of Palestine were represented by a delegation whose members were: Yaacov Shimoni, David Hacohen, Alfred Bonné and Shmuel Hugo Bergman.

No. 247

(1) An official communiqué published by the Government of Palestine on 1 March 1948 denounced the Jewish Agency for its failure to co-operate with the authorities against the I.Z.L. and the Lehi, who were accused of committing dastardly crimes. The communiqué alleged that the Jewish Agency had been attempting to excuse the "neglect of its responsibilities" "by resorting to calculated innuendoes, falsehoods and propaganda directed against British members of the security forces who are ... protecting Jewish property and saving lives ..." The Jewish Agency is described as an "international body" that has been breaking the laws of Palestine and of other countries. The communiqué concludes with a warning that the "continuance of indiscriminate murder and condoned terrorism can lead only to the forfeiture by the Jewish community of all right ... to be numbered among civilized peoples." The communiqué was published in the wake of several attacks by the Lehi on British soldiers and police officers in Jerusalem (following the Ben Yehuda Street explosion) and an attack on a military train near Rehovot on 29 February. About 50 soldiers and policemen were killed in these incidents. (2) The official communiqué was discussed at a meeting of the Jewish Agency

Executive in Jerusalem on 2 March. No agreement was reached on the formulation of a reply and none was published in Palestine. (See Kohn to Shertok, 4 Mar. 1948, 93.03/86/8. See also draft reply of 1 Mar. 1948, C.Z.A. S53/2079). A statement by the American Section of the Executive was published on 2 March.

No. 248

(1) See also No. 258. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 18 above).

No. 249

(1) See Editorial Note, p. 93.

No. 250

(1) Constantin Stavropoulos, Chief Legal Adviser to U.N. Palestine Commission. (2) Georgios B. Kapsambelis. (3) See No. 226. (4) On the previous day Ben-Gurion had informed Shertok and Golda Meyerson that the Jewish Agency Executive had decided that the Provisional Council of Government would consist of the members of the Jewish Agency and Va'ad Le'umi Executives. Several parties and organizations not represented on the Executives had been asked to declare within two days whether they wished to appoint representatives to the Council. It had also been decided that there would be a 13 member executive body. (See letter of 3 Mar. 1948, Ben-Gurion Archives, file 1890). (5) Two paragraphs, dealing with personal matters, are not printed here.

No. 252

(1) A revised draft statute for the City of Jerusalem was discussed by the Trusteeship Council at the end of February and beginning of March 1948. The Jewish Agency was represented at the meeting of 25 February by Shertok and Eliash, and Shertok again addressed the Council on 3 March. The Jewish representatives' main objective was to prevent the allocation of seats on the Jerusalem Legislative Council to representatives of (Christian) non-Arab and non-Jewish residents (see No. 118, note 4), who, it was feared, would regularly side with the Arab against the Jewish members of the Council. The revised draft statute provided for the election — in addition to 18 Arab and 18 Jewish members — of one or two members to be elected by non-Arab and non-Jewish residents, as well as of two or three represen-

tatives-at-large to be elected by all residents from a panel of 6 non-Arab and non-Jewish candidates nominated by the Governor. (See addresses of Shertok and Eliash in Trusteeship Council, U.N. documents T/SR.50 and T/SR.55 in 130.02/2380/5; ASJAE, 25 Feb. 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/2377; revised draft statute for City of Jerusalem, 5 Mar. 1948, U.N. document T118/Rev. 1 — copy in 93.03/128/15). (2) For steps undertaken by Eytan see his diary, 5–7 Mar. 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/9048).

No. 254

(1) Arthur H. Sulzberger, publisher of the *New York Times*. (2) See article "State Department poses some questions on U.N." in *New York Times* of 4 March 1948. Reston wrote that State Department officials were privately posing a number of questions to those who argued that the U.S. should enforce partition and that by failing to do so they were killing the U.N. They were asking, *inter alia*: a) How can the General Assembly's plan be enforced as long as Congress has not allocated money nor authorized the use of American forces for this purpose? b) What about other U.N. decisions which have not been implemented? Should they also be enforced even if opposed by the Soviet Union? (3) See *New York Times* of 1 February 1948. Matthews quoted official British sources to the effect that there were many Communists among the immigrants of the *Pan York* and *Pan Crescent* and that many belonged to militant Communist organizations.

No. 255

(1) See Editorial Note, p. 93. Shertok reported the results of the voting to Tel Aviv, adding: "Consider results satisfactory under circumstances." (See undated telegram [5 Mar. 1948?], 130.09/2337/2). (2) Of Provisional Council of Government. (3) See No. 213, note 2.

No. 256

(1) David Kessler, Managing Director of the *Jewish Chronicle*. (2) A leading article in the *Jewish Chronicle* of 27 February 1948 alleged that the leaders of the Jewish Agency had made unsubstantiated accusations against the British security forces in Palestine in connection with the Ben Yehuda Street explosion. The article also maintained that the Jewish Agency was heading towards war and

disaster and that Dr. Weizmann should be returned to power in the Zionist Organization.

No. 259

(1) Cape — code word meaning "information received from absolutely reliable source". (See Rosenberg to Shertok, 20 Feb. 1948, 93.01/2180/12). (2) The permanent members of the Security Council were expected to report to the Council on their consultations on 15 March. (3) Paul Mohn, Swedish alternate member of UNSCOP (1947). From December 1947 he took part in the work of the two groups of experts which prepared a draft statute for the City of Jerusalem. (4) Apparently Zalman Lifshitz.

No. 260

(1) See No. 251. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 18 above). On the same day Ben-Gurion met Graves to discuss his cease-fire proposal. Kohn's reply was presumably sent after this meeting. (2) See also Khalidi's reply on behalf of Arab Higher Committee, dated 6 March 1948, informing Graves that his proposed move was considered premature "until such time at least as the whole political situation in Palestine is renewed [reviewed?] and becomes more settled." (93.03/94/8).

No. 261

(1) Colonel Alfred R. Roscher Lund served as military expert of the Palestine Commission's Advance Party. The contents of the conversation were transmitted to Shertok on 10 March. (See telegram from Kohn, C.Z.A. S25/1703). (2) See report by Eytan of 5 Mar. 1948 (93.03/125/16). (3) John M. Kirkman, Chief of Staff, British forces in Palestine. (4) Appendix not printed here. (5) Ben-Gurion informed Shertok on 17 March that Col. Roscher Lund would support proposal for Scandinavian force for Jerusalem if Shertok suggested it (at U.N.). [See telegram in C.Z.A. S25/1703]. Shertok subsequently submitted the proposal to the Chairman of the Palestine Commission. Bunche replied on behalf of the Commission that the proposal "would appear to be completely impracticable" and must in any case be addressed to Security Council. (See Shertok to Lisicky, 22 Mar. 1948, 93.03/94/7; Bunche to Shertok, 25 Mar. 1948, *ibid.*). (6) See No. 270. (7) Mistake in original ("army"). (8) On 14 January a heavy Arab attack against the Etzion settlements (north

of Hebron) was repulsed. On 16 February an attack of the Arab Liberation Army on Kibbutz Tirat Tsevi, in the Beisan Valley, was repulsed with heavy Arab losses. (9) Mistake in original ("hope").

No. 262

(1) The first part of the report is not printed here. It contains a summary of a conversation between Eytan and Constantin Stavropoulos, member of the U.N. Advance Party. The following subjects were discussed: a) Jewish State's communications with the outside world after 15 May; b) arrangements concerning government property to be left in Palestine and its division between the Jewish and Arab States; c) questions concerning the continued service of Jewish government officials and safeguarding of their rights. 2) Two superfluous words are not printed here.

No. 263

(1) See Editorial Note, p. 93.

No. 264

(1) Francis B. Sayre (United States). (2) See No. 252, note 1. (3) The revised draft which was then being discussed by the Trusteeship Council, included an alternative suggestion, according to which the Moslem Arab and Christian Arab representatives in the Jerusalem Legislative Council were to be elected separately by the Moslem Arab and the Christian Arab residents respectively. On the proposed representation of non-Arab Christians see No. 252, note 1. (4) The draft was not changed and the unamended article was included in the final draft approved by the Trusteeship Council in April. (See U.N. document T/118 Rev. 2, of 21 Apr. 1948 in file 130.02/2443/1).

No. 265

(1) Original letter, dated 8 Mar. 1948, in C.Z.A. Z6/4/3. Fischer wrote, *inter alia,* that Parodi would probably play an important part in the consultations between the permanent members of the Security Council about Palestine. Parodi was very concerned for the security of the Jews in Palestine, and nothing should be left undone to make him understand that the coastal strip could not be safeguarded unless the Jews held the Negev and Galilee. (2) The reports are filed together with the letter. Report No. 5 is printed above (No. 245). (3) Report on a public meeting in support of the Haganah, organized

by Gedalia Zuchovitzky and attended by some 2–3 thousand people. Of the party personalities invited, only representatives of the Socialist Party and Jacques Duclos — for the Communists — took part. Duclos, who somewhat unexpectedly delivered the main speech, promised that the Communist Party would support the Jews in their struggle for the implementation of partition. The Jews must realize, he said, that the issue would be decided on the field of battle and not in international discussions, but the French Communist Party was confident of their victory as it was confident of its own ultimate triumph. (4) Should apparently read: "report No. 5" (see note 2). Report No. 2 deals with the attitude of official Rumanian circles to the question of Jewish emigration to Palestine in the light of a report of a member of the French Communist Party (Mme Dominique Desanti).

No. 266

(1) See telegram from Jewish Agency (Tel Aviv) to Shertok, 7 Mar. 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/1703; 93.01/2180/12). Telegram included: a) Suggested composition of Provisional Council of Government — (i) 12 members of Jewish Agency Executive, (ii) 14 members of Va'ad Le'umi Executive, (iii) 6 representatives of organizations not represented on the two Executives. b) Suggestion for establishment and composition of administrative body of 13. See also additional telegram of 12 Mar. 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/1703).

No. 269

(1) William (Bill) Hillman, Associate Editor of *Collier's Magazine* and manager of its Washington bureau.

No. 270

(1) Outgoing text is mistakenly dated 10 March 1948. (2) Mistake in original ("February"). (3) At a meeting of the "Big Four" on 9 March, the British representative, Sir Alexander Cadogan, replied to questions put to him by the representatives of the permanent members of the Security Council. The questions related mainly to the incursion of Arab irregulars into Palestine, the measures taken by the authorities to prevent such incursions, and the danger of intervention by neighbouring countries. Cadogan did not give clear replies to these questions, but when asked whether arms were reaching illegal groups in Palestine he replied that every efforts was being made to prevent

such shipments. To the query — whether any port, Tel Aviv for example, would be open after 15 May — he replied that that depended on the military evacuation schedule, but Haifa was likely to be the major evacuation port. (See questions and answers in *Palestine Post,* 11 Mar. 1948). (4) The House of Commons debated the Palestine Bill on 10 March. The Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech Jones, said, *inter alia,* that the British forces remaining in Palestine between the end of the Mandate and the final evacuation, would possess the necessary rights to protect themselves and the powers to secure their withdrawal. He pointed out that the bill included a provision protecting the British forces from proceedings in a British court in respect to acts done in good faith and in execution of their duties. Creech Jones stated again that because of security considerations the Government was unable to permit the opening of a port to Jewish immigration or the formation of militias as long as the Mandate was in force, nor could it agree to the arrival of the U.N. Commission in Palestine until shortly before the termination of the Mandate. Creech Jones deplored the fact that foreign Arab bands had crossed into Palestine, but said that it was difficult to prevent all incursions. (See *448 H.C. Deb. 5s.* cols. 1246–61).

No. 271

(1) Herzog cabled contents of conversation to Shertok on 12 March (C.Z.A. S25/1703). (2) On 11 March heavy damage was caused to the buildings of the Jewish National Institutions in Jerusalem, and 12 people were killed in an explosion of a car which had been parked there by an Arab driver of the American Consulate. (3) See No. 171 and note 1 there; No. 172 and note 2. See also report by British Field Security Section on immigrants of *Pan York* and *Pan Crescent,* dated 21 Jan. 1948 (copy in file 93.03/65/9). According to this report, no evidence has been found for the existence of sizeable Communist groups among the immigrants. (4) See No. 261.

Editorial Note before No. 272 (Main Volume, p. 454)

On 12 March 1948 Silver and Shertok attended a meeting of the permanent members of the Security Council who were holding consultations on the Palestine question in accordance with the Security Council resolution of 5 March. Sir Alexander Cadogan did not take part in these consultations, but attended two meetings in his capacity as representative of the Mandatory Power. Despite the objections of

the Soviet representative (Gromyko), it was decided to consult the representatives of the Arab Higher Committee, the Jewish Agency and the U.N. Palestine Commission. Gromyko argued that the Security Council had decided in favour of internal consultations and that the invitation of other bodies would only defer implementation of the General Assembly resolution. On 11 March, the American representative (Austin) met Silver and invited him to attend the meeting scheduled for the following day. (Nine questions addressed to the Jewish Agency were transmitted shortly before the meeting). On the same day, Shertok and Neumann met Gromyko, who informed them that he would probably not take part in the next meeting, though he raised no objections to the participation of the Jewish representatives.

The question was discussed on the morning of 12 March by the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive. The arguments of supporters and opponents of participation were based on fundamental and tactical considerations: a) should the Jewish Agency participate in discussions which were meant to lead to a compromise inevitably involving further Jewish concessions and perhaps abandonment of partition? b) should the Jewish Agency participate if the Soviet representative did not? and, on the other hand, what effect would the Jewish Agency's refusal to accept the invitation have on the attitude of other states towards the conflict? During the first stage of the discussions a majority against participation seemed probable. (The main speakers in favour were Shertok and Goldmann; against — Silver and Rose Halprin). But when the meeting was informed that Gromyko would participate after all, it was decided by a majority of 4 against 2 to accept the invitation. (The minutes do not specify individual voting, though it is mentioned that Silver voted for participation. The others who voted in favour were probably Shertok, Goldmann and Neumann; against — probably Rose Halprin and Hayim Greenberg). The Executive also decided to submit a memorandum to the Security Council. (See No. 272).

According to Austin's report, Silver and Shertok pointed out at the meeting of the permanent members that the Jewish Agency could not agree to any substantial changes in the partition plan, which embodied the maximum concessions acceptable to the Jews. There must be no curtailment of the essential elements of the plan, i.e.: statehood, sovereignty, territory, control of immigration and a seat in the U.N.

(On the consultations of the permanent members of the Security Council see *FRUS,* 1948, V, pp. 699-737. For Silver's report on his meeting with Austin and the report of Shertok and Neumann on their conversation with Gromyko as well as the record of the discussion in the Jewish Agency Executive see ASJAE, 12 Mar. 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/2382. No report by Silver and Shertok on their meeting with the permanent members has been found, but see Austin's report, including Shertok's replies to the questions put to the Jewish Agency, in *FRUS,* 1948, V, pp. 713-18. For the report of the permanent members to the Security Council see *Yearbook of the United Nations 1947/48,* p. 408.

No. 272

(1) The memorandum was drafted by Eban. The amended text was sent to the permanent members of the Security Council. (See ASJAE, 12 Mar. 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/2382, pp. 35–7. See also summary report — ASJAE 12 Mar. 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/41). See also Editorial Note, p. 105.

No. 275

(1) On the "Big Four" discussions on 15 March see Austin's report in *FRUS,* 1948, V, pp. 725-8. See also No. 276 and note 3 there. (2) See Shertok to Lie, 16 Mar. 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/5354). (3) See No. 278.

No. 276

(1) Thus in incoming text. Outgoing text reads: "extending". (2) See No. 275. (3) The United States, France and China. The misunderstanding resulted from inaccurate information transmitted to Eban. (See his note of 15 Mar. 1948, 93.03/93/14). (4) See Nos. 278, 282.

No. 277

(1) See Editorial Note, p. 93. (2) Towards the close of the General Assembly's discussions, on 28 November 1947, López proposed that the voting on the Palestinian question be deferred and the Ad Hoc Committee be requested to make a further attempt to reach a solution acceptable to both Arabs and Jews. (3) Reference is apparently to a draft resolution submitted by Sub-Committee 2 to the General Assembly's Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine in November 1947. The

draft resolution included a recommendation that members of the U.N. should absorb Jewish refugees in proportion to their area and economic resources, and that a special committee of the General Assembly should recommend appropriate quotas. The Ad Hoc Committee recommended that the General Assembly adopt this resolution in amended form, dropping, *inter alia*, the clause recommending allocation of quotas. (See *Yearbook of the United Nations 1947/48*, pp. 241–2, 245). (4) See No. 1, note 4. (5) In December 1946 the General Assembly recommended that U.N. members should recall the heads of their diplomatic missions from Spain. (6) The last part of the document is not printed here.

No. 278

(1) See No. 275.

No. 280

(1) In the Bronx Congressional by-election the candidate of the American Labor Party, Leo Isacson (formerly Chairman of the Bronx branch of the Zionist Organization) scored a notable victory over the Democratic candidate, Karl Propper. The results of the voting in Bronx, where more than half the registered voters were Jews, was explained by Isacson's militant stance on the Palestine issue.

No. 282

(1) See No. 276 (drafted 15 March, sent 16 March). (2) No. 276 and note 3 there.

No. 283

(1) See No. 275. (2) See PC Rep. 16 Feb. 1948.

No. 285

(1) See also report by Herzog, 17 Mar. 1948 (93.03/125/16). (2) On friendly relations between Israel Sieff and Aneurin Bevan, then Minister of Health in the British Cabinet, see *The Memoirs of Israel Sieff*, pp. 194-6.

Editorial Note before No. 286 (Main Volume, p. 474)

On 18 March Dr. Weizmann was received by President Truman. No written report has been found. Weizmann wrote in his memoirs (*Trial and Error*, p. 577): "The President was sympathetic personally,

and still indicated a firm resolve to press forward with partition." Eliahu Epstein delivered a short report on the conversation at a meeting of the Mapai (Jewish Labour Party of Palestine) Central Committee on 5 April: "Weizmann saw the President on the day before Austin's speech at Lake Success [see below]. The President not only refrained from telling him anything about the contents of Austin's speech, but encouraged him to believe that there would be some favourable changes, especially on the matter of the arms embargo. Weizmann was not entirely satisfied because some of his questions remained unanswered, but the fact that the President had spoken optimistically and even said something concrete about the embargo to fortify this optimism, made him feel that at least no adverse changes had occurred or were likely to occur during the following days." (See Bet Berl, Labour Party Archives, Record Group 1, 24/48).

On 19 March the Security Council held two meetings on the Palestine question, which were attended by the representatives of Egypt and Syria and of the Jewish Agency. The Council discussed the report of the permanent members (see reference in Editorial Note., p. 107). The American representative (Austin) reported on the consultations of the permanent members, which, he indicated, made it clear that no agreed solution was possible and that the partition plan could not be fully implemented nor could implementation be achieved by peaceful means. He therefore proposed to establish a temporary trusteeship for Palestine and to convene a special session of the General Assembly for this purpose. Austin then went on to read "three propositions" submitted by the U.S. Government. (See English text in corresponding Hebrew note, Main Volume, p. 475). Austin announced that an American draft resolution would be submitted shortly to the Security Council. Rabbi Silver addressed the Council immediately after Austin. (See No. 272).

The Jewish Agency had had no prior knowledge of the American proposal. Epstein said at the Mapai Central Committee meeting on 5 April: "We did not know what was liable to happen on that black Friday. We did not know that it would happen on that day because there had been some indications of an improvement in the adverse situation which we had had to confront at least during the preceding six weeks." (Epstein then reported on the Truman–Weizmann meeting — see above). On the discussion in the Security Council see *SCOR, Third Year,* Nos. 36-51, pp. 140-72. On Truman's part in the American volte-face see *FRUS,* 1948, V, pp. 744-6 (Editorial Note).

No. 286

(1) The first paragraph of Silver's address is not printed here. It refers to one particular point in Austin's report about the "Big Four" consultations. (See Editorial Note, p. 109). (2) See Silver's statement in the Security Council on 5 Mar. (*SCOR, Third Year,* Nos. 36-51, pp. 7-20).

No. 287

(1) On 17 March the British evacuated the military barracks in the Schneller Orphanage compound in Jerusalem. They were handed over to the Haganah. (2) Azcarate had served as Ambassador of Republican Spain in London from 1936 to 1939. (3) Juan Negrin, last Prime Minister of the Spanish Republic. After its fall he headed the Republican Government in Exile until 1945. (4) The statement was published on 17 March. It alluded to the possibility of an early transfer of control over public services to the U.N. Palestine Commission. (5) Mistake in original ("Jewish State"). (6) Dwarkanath Ghosh, Indian economist. Member of the Palestine Commission's Advance Party.

No. 288

(1) See minutes of meeting of Palestine Commission on 17 March 1948 (U.N. document A/AC.21/SR.54 of 25 Mar. 1948. Copy in 130.02/2380/5). (2) Cf. No. 266, note 1.

No. 289

(1) See Editorial Note, p. 109.

No. 290

(1) The memorandum was enclosed with a letter from Ruffer to Sharef of 23 March 1948 (in same file). (2) See also No. 300.

No. 291

(1) No. 279. (2) Mistake in original ("their"), corrected in conformity with incoming text. (3) No. 270. Shertok cabled Ben-Gurion on 22 March 1948: "Your 80 received. Now partly outdated." (C.Z.A. S25/1703).

No. 292

(1) At the Security Council meeting on 5 March Parodi accused both parties in Palestine of violating the U.N. Charter: the Arabs were

preparing to oppose, even by force, a recommendation of the General Assembly; and although the latter was not binding upon U.N. members, it was inadmissible that a member-state should try to obstruct implementation by force on a territory which was not its own. As to the Jews, they were carrying out lethal reprisals, and the Jewish Agency was not taking effective measures to stop them. Parodi said that the sympathy for the Jews engendered by the holocaust might disappear "if yesterday's victims now play the part of butchers." (See *SCOR, Third Year,* Nos. 36–51, pp. 23–4).

No. 293

(1) A copy of this telegram was sent to the American members of the Jewish Agency Executive. (See Lourie's note of 28 Mar. 1948, 93.03/128/3).

No. 294

(1) According to a report in *Ha'aretz of* 21 March 1948, Parodi said at a meeting of the permanent members of the Security Council that the American trusteeship proposal was in line with the general views of the French Government; but as the legal aspects of the plan must still be studied, the representatives should be enabled to receive new instructions.

No. 295

(1) Vincent Auriol. (2) Léon Blum. (3) See No. 294.

No. 296

(1) Golda Meyerson's campaign in the U.S. on behalf of the United Jewish Appeal, January–March 1948.

No. 297

(1) See ASJAE, 21 Mar. 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/2384. (2) See also draft telegram to Jerusalem in note from Robinson to Neumann, 22 Mar. 1948 (93.03/88/15).

No. 298

(1) No. 297.

No. 299

(1) Outgoing text reads: "advisabilities". Corrected in conformity with incoming text.

No. 300

(1) Fischer sent a similar telegram to Berman in Jerusalem (C.Z.A. S25/1558). (2) I.e., of trusteeship proposal which U.S. delegation was going to submit to the Security Council on the following day — Friday, 19 March. (3) Léon Blum. (4) Thus in text deciphered in Jerusalem. (5) Jerusalem text here corrected by hand: "them" (instead of "me").

No. 301

(1) Actually, the U.S.S.R. was a member of the Trusteeship Council, but up to April 1948 its delegate did not take part in the Council's meetings. (2) Herzog informed Shertok of the contents of Azcarate's telegram. (See Herzog's telegram of 23 Mar. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1703).

No. 302

(1) Text of telegram was approved at a joint meeting of the Executive of the Jewish Agency and the Va'ad Le'umi on 23 March. (2) Sentence in square brackets added in accordance with incoming text. (3) The telegram was discussed on the same day at a meeting of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive. It was decided to introduce several amendments in the text before its transmission to the U.N. Of these, two were substantial: a) in the second sentence of the third paragraph the words "The Jewish Provisional Government" were replaced by "The Provisional Council of Government of the Jewish State"; b) at the end of the fifth paragraph the following was added: "and invites representatives of the Arab population of the Jewish State to take their rightful place in all its organs of government." Shertok sent the amended text to the U.N. Secretary-General for distribution to members of the Security Council and the Chairman of the Palestine Commission. (See letters of 24 Mar. 1948, 93.03/94/7). (4) The names of the signatories — according to incoming text.

No. 303

(1) See No. 302. (2) Mistake in original ("18/3"). (3) On 17 March Shertok spoke at a meeting of the U.N. Palestine Commission on the problems involved in the establishment of a Jewish Provisional Council of Government, and made suggestions with regard to its composition, in accordance with the instructions he had received.

(See No. 266, note 1). [See minutes of the meeting, U.N. document A/AC.21/SR.54 of 25 Mar. 1948. Copy in 130.02/2380/5]. (4) See also No. 304.

No. 304

(1) No. 303. (2) Shertok agreed to cancel the telegram in view of objections raised at the meeting of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive. (See ASJAE, 23 Mar. 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/41).

No. 305

(1) Corrected in conformity with incoming text.

No. 306

(1) No. 299. (2) See Akzin to Silver, 22 Mar. 1948, C.Z.A. Z6/4/5.

No. 308

(1) Locker cabled results of Brussels talks to Shertok on 24 March (93.01/2180/14), and to Tel Aviv on 25 March (C.Z.A. S25/1703). (2) See No. 249. (3) In January–March 1948 Congress discussed an act to implement the Marshall Plan under the European Recovery Programme. The foreign aid programme was approved by Congress in April. (4) Cf. Editorial Note, p. 94

No. 309

(1) Reference is apparently to the intervention of British troops against Arab attacks in the Har Tuv area (south-west of Jerusalem), on 22 March.

No. 310

(1) Brodetsky informed Tel Aviv of this conversation with the Czechoslovak Ambassador in London in a telegram dated 25 March (C.Z.A. S25/1703). (2) Jan Masaryk, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, was killed in fall from the window of his office on 10 March. According to the official announcement, he had committed suicide. In the West it was widely believed that the suicide was the result of the seizure of power by the Communists at the end of February. (3) On 20 March it was officially proposed by the Governments of France, the United States and the United Kingdom that

the Free Territory of Trieste be restored to Italy. The Yugoslav Government protested against this proposal on 22 March.

No. 311

(1) The letter is in C.Z.A. Z6/4/3. Goldmann reported that Parodi had told him that he would not take the initiative at the U.N. but was ready to follow the American initiative. Parodi doubted the possibility of implementing partition, but felt that the prestige and authority of the U.N. were at stake. He had also said that the idea of a truce had come primarily from him. (2) The American representative in the Security Council was expected to submit on the same day a draft resolution calling for a special session of the General Assembly to discuss the Palestine question. But at the last moment it was decided to postpone submission of the resolution and consequently also of the formal proposals for trusteeship and for suspension of the activities of the U.N. Palestine Commission. At the meeting of the Security Council the French representative expressed qualified support for the American proposal, but said that his government could not take a definite stand before it was adequately clarified. (3) Two days later Fischer informed Shertok that on 24 March the French Cabinet Council had agreed to support the American proposal for a special session of the U.N. General Assembly to discuss the question of Palestine, though the French delegation would not express an opinion on the question of principle — for or against partition — which could only be decided by the Council of Ministers. (See Fischer to Shertok, 25 Mar. 1948, and enclosed press cutting, 93.03/128/10).

No. 313

(1) Thus in incoming text.

No. 314

(1) See report on conversation, which took place on 22 March, in C.Z.A. S25/7725. According to Leo Kohn, Grimwood's statement reflected the opinion of the Palestine Government as a whole. (See note from Regina Hamburger to Golda Meyerson, 22 Mar. 1948, *ibid*).

No. 315

(1) See No. 303, note 3. (2) In the newly established United Workers' Party (Mapam). (3) See Appendix A, Main Volume, p. 800. (4) See Appendix A, Main Volume, pp. 799-800.

No. 317

(1) See No. 259, note 1. (2) The letter was sent at the request of the American Consulate in Jerusalem. (See Kohn's report on conversation with Wells Stabler on 18 Mar. 1948, 68/576/35).

No. 318

(1) Document is draft note on conversation. Shertok cabled summary to Ben-Gurion on 29 March 1948 (93.01/2180/14; see also incoming text in C.Z.A. S25/1703). Shertok's concluding comment reads: "Interview strangely cordial, utterly inconclusive. Ended with lavish compliments . . . My definite impression they confused, groping, seeing no light." See also Shertok's telegram to Ben-Gurion of 30 Mar. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1703. (2) Mistake in original ("command"). (3) No. 283. (4) End of sentence missing. (5) See also No. 223 and note 3 there. (6) On 27 February 1948. See *SCOR, Third Year,* Nos. 16-35, pp. 344-56. (7) See Creech Jones' statement in Security Council on 2 March. (*Ibid.,* pp. 402–5). (8) At Rosh ha-Ayin (Ras el-Ein). (9) See No. 251. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 18 above). (10) On 24 March the House of Commons passed the bill terminating the Palestine Mandate. The original bill had not specified the date of termination, which was added during the Committee stage, on 19 March, through an amendment by the Colonial Secretary. (11) Mistake in original ("of"). (12) Mistake in original ("complicated"). (13) See No. 75 and note 2 there. (14) The meeting took place on 26 September 1947. (See Shertok's report in minutes of meeting of American Section of Jewish Agency Executive, of same date, 93.03/64/9). (15) On 21 February. See No. 220 and note 1 there. (16) Mistake in original ("world"). (17) There is no indication as to where this passage should be inserted.

No. 321

(1) Allusion to first large shipment of arms bought in Czechoslovakia for the Haganah. The arms were transported in the *Nora,* and reached Palestine on 1 April. (2) Vladimir Clementis.

No. 322

(1) Montague Brown, Principal Assistant Secretary (Finance), Government of Palestine. (2) Correction in conformity with incoming text. (3) See No. 318.

No. 323

(1) On 27 March a Jewish convoy returning from the Etzion settlements to Jerusalem was ambushed near Nabi Daniyal and completely wiped out. Of the escort, 15 were killed and the rest were extricated by a British force after laying down their arms. The greater part of the Haganah's armoured vehicles which had served to keep open the supply route from the coastal plain to Jerusalem were lost in this engagement.

No. 324

(1) In incoming text 3 superfluous words were inserted here. (2) Thus in incoming text. (3) The additional sentence in incoming text only.

No. 325

(1) Epstein cabled contents of conversation to Ben-Gurion on 29 March 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/1703). (2) See No. 302. (3) On 9 January the kibbutzim Kefar Szold and Dan in Upper Galilee were attacked by Arab irregulars who had crossed the border from Syria. The British authorities submitted a protest to the Syrian Government. (4) See No. 318.

No. 326

(1) No. 315. (2) See Appendix A, Main Volume, pp. 799–800. See same appendix for other articles mentioned below. (3) See No. 213, note 2. (4) PC Rep. 12 Mar. 1948.

No. 327

(1) Fitzhugh Turner, *New York Herald Tribune* reporter in Palestine. (2) Ben-Gurion. (3) On 27 March a Jewish convoy was attacked near Yehiam in western Galilee. Forty-six members of the Haganah escort were killed. (4) See No. 323, note 1. (5) Copy of telegram has no signature, but Shertok's signature appears on another telegram which was sent together with the former as a direct sequel, though dealing with a different matter.

No. 329

(1) No. 326. (2) No. 315. (3) Mistake in original ("March 18th"). See No. 303, note 3. (4) See Appendix A, Main Volume, p. 800.

No. 330

(1) David R. Wahl, Executive Director of Americans for Haganah. (2) Letter in file 93.03/71/1. (3) Vladimir Houdek, Czechoslovak representative at United Nations since the middle of March 1948. (4) Wahl added: "Houdek is 100% devoted to seeing this thing through." (5) Eliahu Epstein. (6) See Nos. 326, 329.

No. 331

(1) Goldmann reported on the conversation by telephone to New York on 31 March. (See note in file 93.03/127/1). See also Goldmann's letter to Shertok of 2 Apr. 1948 (93.03/65/17).

No. 332

(1) 29 March. (2) See No. 139. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 13 above). (3) See Rabbi Herzog to Gurney, 27 Feb. 1948, C.Z.A. S53/2146. Rabbi Herzog repeated the proposal he had made in the course of his conversation with Gurney on 26 January 1948 (see No. 139. [Hebrew. For English summary see p. 13 above]) that a conference be arranged between representatives of the Jewish and Arab religious authorities in order to arrange a truce in the Old City of Jerusalem, with a view to a reciprocal withdrawal of fighting personnel at a later date. If the proposal did not prove feasible, Rabbi Herzog asked to be informed what steps had been taken to ascertain whether the Arab forces would be withdrawn simultaneously with the Jewish defence force, and what guarantees would be given for the security of the Jewish quarter and its residents.

Editorial Note before No. 334 (Main Volume, p. 547)

At the Security Council meeting on 30 March, the American representative (Austin) submitted two draft resolutions. (See English text in corresponding Hebrew note, Main Volume, p. 547). In the course of the discussions held on 30 March and 1 April, the delegates of Argentina, Belgium and the United Kingdom supported the American proposals. The delegate of Egypt stated that he supported the truce proposal. The delegate of Syria reserved his attitude to this proposal pending the clarification of the attitudes of the two parties, but supported the convening of the General Assembly. The Soviet delegate (Gromyko) rejected the American draft resolutions, reaffirmed support for partition and opposed the convening of the General Assembly and the suspension of the work of the Palestine Com-

mission. The representative of the Jewish Agency (Shertok) stated that the draft resolution calling for a truce ignored Arab aggression and that an effective truce would not be possible until the foreign Arab military units were evacuated from Palestine. Shertok firmly rejected the trusteeship plan and declared that the Jews would establish their state and that they were determined to get the arms required to defend themselves and the Jewish State. The Security Council adopted the United States resolutions on 1 April, after the American representative had agreed, at the suggestion of the Ukranian representative, to delete the words "with grave concern" from the second paragraph of the truce resolution. The first resolution was adopted unanimously. The vote on the second resolution, calling for a special session of the General Assembly was adopted by nine votes (Argentina, Belgium, Canada, China, Colombia, France, Syria, United Kingdom, United States) with two abstentions (Ukranian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.). For Shertok's address see *SCOR, Third Year,* No. 52, pp. 5-23.

No. 334

(1) See López to Shertok, 1 Apr. 1948 (93.03/130/3). (2) See Editorial Note, p. 117. (3) See Shertok to Lie, 2 Apr. 1948 (93.03/130/3). (4) See No. 337.

No. 335

(1) Mgr. Angelo Roncalli, Apostolic Nuncio, France. (Later Pope John XXIII). Fischer wrote in a letter to Shertok of 2 April 1948: "The Nuncio . . . is a great friend of our cause." (93.03/128/10). (2) Fischer met Roncalli on the same day. Roncalli promised to transmit the letter to the Vatican authorities and to enclose a memorandum of his own. *(Ibid.).*

No. 337

(1) The Jewish Agency's reply to the Security Council's call for a truce in Palestine (see Editorial Note, p. 117) was discussed at a meeting of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive (see ASJAE, undated minutes [5 Apr. 1948?], C.Z.A. Z5/2387). Shertok opposed the inclusion of a reference to the question of immigration in the last paragraph of the reply on the ground that the truce must not be made to serve as a lever for obtaining an increase in immigration before the end of the Mandate. He suggested that the Jewish Agency raise this issue only if it was proposed to stop immigration.

Shertok read the full text of the reply at the Security Council meeting on 15 April. (See Editorial Note, p. 129).

No. 338

(1) The Zionist General Council was due to meet on 6 April 1948.

No. 339

(1) Sent in reply to a telegram from Berman, Eytan, Herzog and Sasson (Jerusalem) to Shertok, 30 Mar. 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/1558). The authors criticized the strategy of the Jewish military leadership. They complained about Tel Aviv's failure to respond to the suggestion that isolated Jewish settlements in areas allocated to the Arab State should be evacuated. They maintained that the unrealistic policy of holding on to these settlements was draining Jewish strength, as shown by the loss of the Etzion convoy (see No. 323, note 1). The authors also suggested that women and children be evacuated from besieged Jerusalem. They asked Shertok to use his influence with the leaders in Tel Aviv. (2) No. 323.

No. 340

(1) The Ninth Pan American Conference was held in Bogota on 30 March—1 May 1948. The American delegation was headed by Secretary of State Marshall. The Conference adopted the Charter of the Organization of American States. On the eve of the Conference, the Latin American Department of the Jewish Agency in the United States initiated intensive contacts in Latin American states in order to induce them to withhold support from the American trusteeship proposal. (See Toff to members of the Jewish Agency Executive, 25 Mar. 1948, 93.03/129/4). (2) I.e., the special session of the General Assembly summoned in accordance with the Security Council resolution of 1 April to discuss the question of Palestine. (3) Alberto Gerchunoff, Jewish writer and journalist in Argentina. Editor of *La Nación*. (4) Juan Gualberto Guevara, Primate of Peru and Archbishop of Lima. See his reply of 5 Apr. 1948, filed with covering note of Toff to Lourie of 10 May 1948 (93.03/129/4). The archbishop wrote that in his opinion, the whole of Palestine should have been restored to the Jewish people, but he knew that it was not easy to realize this idea and he could do nothing to help. (5) Daniel Castellanos. (6) Luis C. Batlle Berres. (7) Gabriel G. Videla. (8) Andres Eloy Blanco. (9) Pedro Zuloaga, Venezuela's repre-

sentative at the U.N. (10) César A. Vasconsellos. (11) Alberto Ulloa, head of Peru's delegation to the Second Session of the U.N. General Assembly. (12) Juan D. Peron. (13) Since September 1947 the Vice-President and Acting-President of Ecuador was Carlos J. Arosemena. His deputy was José R. Bustamente. (14) Antonio Parra Velasco. (15) Juan J. Arevalo. (16) Enrique Muñoz Meany. (17) Eduardo Morgan of Panama, member of the U.N. Palestine Commission. (18) Enrique A. Jimenez. (19) Mario de Diego. (20) The "dictator" — Anastasio Somoza, at that time Nicaragua's Minister of War.

No. 341

(1) Epstein visited Palestine at the beginning of April 1948.

No. 342

(1) Eytan replied on 8 April: "Your suggestion 45/48. Done." (93.03/128/4).

No. 345

(1) See Editorial Note, p. 125.

No. 346

(1) On 3 April a Haganah force captured the Arab village of Qastal, west of Jerusalem, in preparation for Operation *Nahshon,* which was about to begin with the aim of opening the Jerusalem–Tel Aviv road.

No. 347

(1) On 5 April the Security Council held an informal session at which the American representative submitted a series of tentative general principles for a temporary trusteeship for Palestine. (See Editorial Note, p. 125). The representatives of the Soviet Union and of the Ukraine did not take part in this session.

No. 348

(1) See Editorial Note, p. 125.

No. 349

(1) The reports appeared in the *New York Post* of 31 March and the *New York Times* of 3 and 5 April. (For details see telegram from Shertok to Zaslani, 5 Apr. 1948, 93.03/128/4). (2) The con-

voy reached Jerusalem in the course of Operation *Nahshon,* which began on the preceding day with the capture of the Arab villages Hulda and Deir Muheisin and of several heights overlooking the Tel Aviv–Jerusalem road. (3) Izhak Ben-Zvi.

No. 350

(1) See Shertok to Kohn, 5 Apr. 1948 (93.01/2180/14). Shertok pointed out that "such reports seriously undermined our position." He asked Kohn (the Political Secretary of the Jewish Agency) to inform Eytan, in case the matter concerned him. Kohn informed Shertok on 8 April that he had told Azcarate that as the American trusteeship proposals were being considered by the Jewish Agency Executive, he was unable to comment on them. (Telegram in 68/576/35). (2) See No. 213 and note 2 there. (3) In an additional telegram, of 8 April 1948, Shertok informed Golda Meyerson that "on further investigation find reference... was not to Jewish Agency but to prominent personalities in Jewish Community." (C.Z.A. S25/1704).

No. 351

(1) See No. 347, note 1. (2) See Editorial Note, p. 125. (3) The enclosed document has not been found. As to press reports, see *Ha'aretz* of 8 April 1948. It reported that a spokesman of the French delegation to the U.N. had criticized the American trusteeship proposal, pointing out three major problems which the proposal had left unanswered: a) which state would bear the main responsibility for implementation; b) the question of immigration; c) the administrative problem after 15 May and the necessity to set up a special police force. The French spokesman was reported to have expressed the hope that the American delegation would supply the necessary clarifications.

No. 353

(1) Kohn cabled a summary of the conversation to Shertok on 9 April 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/1704). In a covering note to Ben-Gurion dated 7 April, Kohn wrote that the High Commissioner was "very congenial but also very firm and serious. Clearly, he was going to do his utmost to succeed. When I asked what would happen if Khalidi did not accept his proposal, he replied pungently: 'I shall not accept his "no".' He hinted that the next step must consist of detailed

negotiations about the cease-fire conditions." (2) See No. 344 and note 1 there. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 23 above. (3) See Editorial Note, p. 117. (4) On 6 April an I.Z.L. unit broke into a British military camp near Pardess Hanna, capturing a considerable quantity of arms. In an exchange of fire the camp commander and five of his men were killed. (5) The Zionist General Council.

No. 354

(1) For Shertok's reply see his telegram to Kohn of 12 Apr. 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/1551). See English extract in corresponding Hebrew note, Main Volume, p. 574.

No. 355

(1) On the same day (7 April) the President of the Security Council (López) also met the representative of the Arab Higher Committee (Jamal al-Husseini) and on the following day he again conferred separately with him and with Shertok. (See No. 357. A record of the conversations with Shertok is in file 93.03/95/1, and of those with Husseini — in file 93.03/94/8). The conversations were held in pursuance of the Security Council resolution calling for a truce in Palestine. (See Editorial Note, p. 117). They were held separately because the Arab representative refused to sit at the same table with the Jewish representative.

No. 356

(1) See Nos. 355, 357. (2) See No. 351 and note 3 there.

No. 357

(1) Mistake in original ("is"). Corrected in conformity with incoming text. (2) See No. 355, note 1. (3) At an informal meeting of members of the Security Council on 9 April, López reported about the failure of the conversations with representatives of the two parties. The main differences concerned the following issues: a) The demand of the Jewish Agency that the truce agreement include an undertaking to withdraw the Arab forces which had entered Palestine from neighbouring countries. b) The insistence of the Arab Higher Committee that the truce be made conditional upon a total suspension of Jewish immigration. See also Editorial Note, p. 127. (4) No record of a further conversation has been found.

No. 358

(1) On the conversation with Parodi see No. 351. (2) William L. Mackenzie King. (3) The outgoing text includes an additional sentence, which was crossed out before the telegram was sent. It reads: "Cadogan stated Britain ready cooperate trusteeship if accepted by Arabs, Jews, but added something vaguely implying British readiness cooperate if urged by U.N."

No. 359

(1) Charles Fahy, formerly U.S. Solicitor General (1941–45); Legal Adviser, Department of State (1946–47). Member of U.S. delegation to Second Session of U.N. General Assembly (1947). From April 1948 he represented the American Zionist Emergency Council in contacts with the Administration in Washington. (2) Copy of memorandum was sent to Shertok.

No. 360

(1) Following the Ben Yehuda Street explosion on 22 February, the foreign consuls in Jerusalem formed a committee, which tried to initiate negotiations with the parties with a view to a truce agreement in the city. (See *Palestine Post,* 5 Apr. 1948. No relevant documentation has been found in the files of the Political Department).

No. 361

(1) Fischer sent a similar telegram to Berman, Jerusalem, on 9 April (C.Z.A. S25/1704). Its contents were transmitted to Golda Meyerson in Tel Aviv.

No. 362

(1) See Nos. 262, 287, 312. Two additional memoranda by Eytan on conversations with Azcarate are not printed here (of 5 and 31 Mar. 1948, 93.03/125/16). (2) Two paragraphs not printed here. (3) See Eytan's memorandum — "Foundations of the Jewish State" (C.Z.A. S25/9048).

No. 364

(1) Weizmann sent a copy of the letter to Secretary of State Marshall. In a covering note of the same date he expressed regret at not having had an opportunity to meet Marshall before the change in U.S. policy on Palestine — he had intended to give him some useful information. On 16 April Weizmann sent Austin copies of his letters

to Truman and Marshall. (All documents are in file 93.03/67/6). (2) Eee Editorial Note, p. 108. (3) President Truman stated at a press conference on 25 March that the American trusteeship proposal was designed to safeguard the peace in Palestine, that it was not intended as a substitute for partition and did no prejudice the character of the final settlement. In reply to a question, the President declared that he was still in favour of partition. Secretary of State Marshall explained the trusteeship proposal in similar terms at a press conference in Los Angeles on 20 March. (See *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Harry S. Truman, 1948,* pp. 190–2. For extracts from Marshall's statement see *FRUS,* 1948, V. pp. 748-9. (4) President Truman did not answer this letter. (See *FRUS,* 1948, V, p. 809. For extract from Lovett's reply to the letter addressed to Marshall see *ibid.).*

No. 365

(1) Shertok cabled Ben-Gurion a summary of the statements of Rusk and Lovett at this meeting and at a subsequent meeting with Rusk — see No. 366. (See telegram of 11 Apr. 1948, 93.01/2180/14). See also No. 371. The conversation with Rusk and Lovett and apparently also the subsequent conversation with Rusk were recorded by Lourie on the basis of a verbal report by Shertok. The latter did not revise the text. (See Lourie to P. Levy, 13 Apr. 1948, 93.03/129/6). (2) See No. 318. (3) The partition plan recommended by the Royal Commission ("Peel Commission") on Palestine in 1937. (4) See No. 349, note 2. (5) See Nos. 355, 357. (6) See Editorial Note, p. 117. (7) See No. 364, note 3. (8) In his report to Ben-Gurion (see note 1) Shertok added that Lovett had probably meant to imply that the conditions of an imposed truce would be worse than those of an agreed truce.

No. 366

(1) See No. 364, note 3. (2) *Sic.* Text apparently defective. (3) See Editorial Note, p. 125, and Main Volume, p. 607, par. 9.

No. 367

(1) See No. 357.

No. 368

(1) See No. 370. (2) No. 359.

No. 369

(1) See No. 353. (2) Zaslani reported the reply to Shertok in a telegram dated 10 April 1948 (93.03/128/4).

No. 370

(1) See No. 365. (2) See Nos. 365, 366.

No. 371

(1) Sent as continuation of telegram of 10 April in which Shertok reported on his conversations with Lovett and Rusk. (See No. 365 and note 1 there; No. 366). (2) Refers to fourth paragraph in telegram to Ben-Gurion mentioned in note 1: "They [Lovett and Rusk] accept fundamental difference immigration and incursion, but view meeting issue perhaps we might undertake not bring in armed men." (3) Erroneously deciphered: "not prejudiced." (4) The last sentence was amended before telegram was sent. Initially it read: "Conversations inconclusive, but they emerged hopeful, which disquieting."

Editorial Note before No. 373 (Main Volume, p. 606)

See Hebrew Editorial Note, Main Volume, pp. 606-7 for (English) text of tentative general principles for a temporary trusteeship in Palestine, which were submitted by the U.S. delegation to other members of Security Council. The document is dated 5 April 1948. Copy in file 93.03/95/14.

No. 373

(1) John C. Ross, of U.S. delegation to U.N. The memorandum was also sent to the U.N. Secretary-General and to the U.N. Palestine Commission. It was drawn up by Eban. (See No. 432). (2) See Editorial Note above. (3) The date fixed for the establishment of the Arab and Jewish states according to the General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947.

No. 375

(1) John N. Reedman, Chief Economic Adviser to U.N. Palestine Commission. (2) No copy found in files. According to press reports, the Palestine Commission asked the British Government for immediate consultations on urgent questions which must be settled if a breakdown in essential services in Palestine after 15 May was to be avoided. (3) See PC Rep. 10 Apr. 1948, p. 39. (4) On

the critical situation in regard to the supply of foodstuffs to Palestine and the negotiations between the Palestine Commission and the British Government on this subject, see *ibid.*, pp. 28-31. (5) See draft agreement between the Jewish Agency and Steel Brothers Ltd., of 4 April 1948, according to which the latter were to act as agents for the Jewish Agency for importation of essential supplies after 15 May. (Draft in C.Z.A. S40/8/1). (6) Parcel post services (sea and land) to Palestine were terminated on 15 March, and letter post (sea and land) on 15 April. (7) See also note by Hoofien of 15 April 1948 (93.03/88/11): following his conversation with Lisicky, Hoofien saw the letter which the Palestine Commission had received from the Universal Postal Union; it included no reference to "impartial economic bodies".

Editorial Note before No. 376 (Main Volume, p. 625)

On 9 April units of the I.Z.L. and the Lehi captured the Arab village of Deir Yasin, west of Jerusalem, after heavy house to house fighting. In the course of the operation many of the villagers were killed.

On 11 April the Jewish Agency published a statement condemning the attack (see summary in No. 376 [Hebrew. For English summary see p. 24 above]) and on the following day another condemnatory declaration was published by the Haganah. The I.Z.L. and the Lehi flatly denied allegations of a massacre. In their statements they expressed regret that the casualties included women and children, and explained that the inhabitants had been warned by loudspeakers to leave the village before the attack began and that the casualties were inflicted in the course of the fighting within the village. The statements of the two organizations emphasized the military importance of the village and denied the Haganah's claim that there had been no foreign irregulars in the village. The I.Z.L. statement reproduced the text of a letter sent by David Shaltiel, Jerusalem District Commander of the Haganah, dated 7 April 1948, in which he declared that the capture of Deir Yasin was included in the Haganah's plan of operations and that he did not object to its capture by the I.Z.L. on condition that the latter would be able to hold it. If not, he warned the I.Z.L. not to destroy the village as this would lead to its seizure by outside Arab forces. (See statements of the Haganah, the I.Z.L. and Lehi in J. Golani, *The Myth of Deir Yasin* [Hebrew], pp. 79 ff.).

No. 377

(1) On the conversation with the French Consul see also No. 363. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 23 above). (2) No. 345.

No. 378

(1) Date of receipt — according to Tel Aviv postmark. Copy sent to Jerusalem marked: "Received 22.4." (Copy in 68/577/36). (2) Colombian draft resolution — see Editorial Note below. (3) I.e., has been cabled through the Palcor news agency.

No. 379

(1) Permanent Representative of Uruguay at U.N. (2) The meeting apparently took place in Bogota, where the Pan American Conference was being held. (See correspondence in 93.03/129/4). (3) José Arce, the Permanent Representative of Argentina at the U.N. Cf. No. 1.

No. 380

(1) René Mayer, French Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs. (2) Edouard Depreux, French Minister of Education, February–April 1948. (3) Joseph E. Awad, Rector of St. Joseph's Maronite Church in Waterville, Maine, and author of "Free Forum" column in Arabic (Lebanese) paper *al-Hoda,* published in New York. (4) Tuvia Arazi.

No. 381

(1) See diary of Haim Berman, 15 Apr. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/6595.

Editorial Note before No. 382 (Main Volume, p. 632)

At the Security Council meeting of 15 April the Chairman (López) announced that his discussions with the representatives of the parties on the question of a truce in Palestine had been unsuccessful. He was therefore submitting on behalf of the Colombian delegation a draft resolution which had been formulated after consultations with representatives of the permanent members of the Security Council. (For English text of draft resolution see corresponding Hebrew note, Main Volume, pp. 632–3). In the subsequent discussion, the draft resolution was supported by the representatives of the U.S. and Canada. The representatives of Egypt and Syria expressed qualified support. The representative of Syria (Fares al-Khuri) stated

that Syria would give its consent on condition that sub-paragraphs 1(b), 1(c) and 1(d) be understood to mean that no Jewish immigration to Palestine would be allowed during the period of the truce. Shertok spoke on behalf of the Jewish Agency (see No. 382). The representative of the Arab Higher Committee(Jamal al-Husseini) said that there could be no truce on the basis of the partition plan or as long as Jewish immigration continued, and that the establishment of a Jewish administration in the Jewish area precluded the realization of a truce. The U.S.S.R. representative (Gromyko) criticized the proposal, arguing, *inter alia,* that sub-paragraph 1(b) and paragraph 3 ignored the rights of the Jews, especially in regard to immigration. He said that the U.S.S.R. could not agree to sub-paragraph 1(c) unless another sub-paragraph was added providing for the immediate withdrawal of all armed bands which had invaded Palestine and for the prevention of future incursions. The American representative (Austin), taking into account the remarks of the Jewish Agency representative, proposed a number of amendments to sub-paragraphs 1(b) and 1(f) and to paragraph 3. (All these amendments were approved by the Council — see below). In the early hours of 17 April the Council approved a resolution based on the Colombian draft and incorporating the following amendments: a) An inconsequential change in the opening of the preamble. b) Sub-paragraph 1(b) was reformulated as follows: "Refrain from bringing or from assisting and encouraging the entry into Palestine of armed bands and fighting personnel, groups and individuals, whatever their origin." c) The following words were added to sub-paragraph 1(f): "... and from any action which would interfere with access to all shrines and sanctuaries for the purpose of worship by those who have an established right to visit and worship at them." d) The concluding passage of paragraph 3 was reformulated as follows: "... referring to the entry into Palestine of armed bands and fighting personnel, groups and individuals and weapons and war materials." e) Paragraph 4 was not approved. (The representatives of Argentina and Belgium had argued that up to the end of the Mandate, the Mandatory Power must be solely responsible for supervision of the truce. Shertok thereupon declared that in that case the Jewish Agency would regard the position as if no arrangement for supervision had been made at all). The proposal of the Soviet delegate for insertion of an additional sub-paragraph after 1(c) [see above] was rejected. The resolution was approved by nine votes (including Syria) with two abstentions (U.S.S.R. and

Ukranian S.S.R.). [See *SCOR, Third Year,* Nos. 57, 58; summary in *Yearbook of the United Nations 1947/48,* pp. 412–15].

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There follows (No. 382) the second part of Shertok's address to the Security Council on 15 April, in which he dealt in detail with the Colombian draft resolution. In the first part of his statement, Shertok announced that the Jewish Agency accepted the truce, although it was put forward as part of a proposal to set aside the plan recommended by the General Assembly on 29 November, a proposal which the Jewish Agency found utterly unacceptable. In accepting the truce, the Jewish Agency was concerned with safeguarding two main objectives: a) That the truce should be effective and would not serve as a cover for preparing further aggression. b) That the truce should not jeopardize legitimate long-term Jewish interests and should not prejudice the main issue. Shertok then read the text of the Jewish Agency's telegram of 4 April (No. 337). Shertok concluded this part of his statement with the observation that the Jewish Agency's conditions for a truce were purely military, namely the withdrawal of the foreign armed units from Palestine and the prevention of further incursions. The other side, however, had put forward political conditions which the Jewish Agency had to resist.

No. 382

(1) See Editorial Note above. (2) See also amended draft resolution proposed by the Jewish Agency — No. 383.

No. 383

(1) See Editorial Note, p. 127 and No. 382. (2) Rule 39 empowers the Security Council to invite members of the Secretariat or other persons to supply it with information or assist it in examining matters within its competence. (3) Refers to Security Council resolution of 1 April — see Editorial Note, p. 117. (4) The decision to propose an amended draft resolution to the Security Council was taken at a meeting of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive at the suggestion of the Chairman, Rabbi A.H. Silver. (See ASJAE, 16 Apr. 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/42). For Colombian draft resolution see reference in Editorial Note, p. 127. In the appended text, proposed omissions are printed in bold type; additions and amendments are printed in italics.

No. 384

(1) Harold P. Manson, Director of Public Relations and Information, American Zionist Emergency Council. (2) At meeting of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive. (3) The editorial doubted the possibility of implementing the truce in Palestine. The author held that a cease-fire in Jerusalem was possible and constituted a prerequisite for any re-examination of the Palestine issue. (4) On 16 April the press published a letter from Charles Taft, President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ. He proposed that Jerusalem should immediately be put under a trusteeship and declared an open city.

No. 385

(1) The U.N. San Francisco Conference in 1945, which approved the U.N. Charter. (2) The U.N. General Assembly recommended in December 1946 and again in November 1947 that the South African Mandate over South-West Africa be replaced by a trusteeship agreement. The Government of South Africa rejected the recommendation and announced that it would continue to administer the territory in the spirit of the Mandate. (3) On 19 March Austin reported to the Security Council on the consultations between the permanent members and the representative of the Mandatory Power (Cadogan). The latter had said, *inter alia,* that his Government had accepted the plan of partition with economic union but refused to take part in implementation. (See *SCOR, Third Year,* Nos. 36-51, p. 161). (4) See No. 364, note 3.

No. 386

(1) A similar telegram was sent to Berman, Jerusalem.

No. 387

(1) Moshe Maurice Rosetti (Rosetté), Director, Jewish Agency Information Department, London; Head of Political Department of Jewish Labour Party Poalei Zion in England. (2) Baron Carel van Boetzelaer van Oosterhout.

No. 389

(1) A copy was sent to the High Commissioner. (See Kohn to High Commissioner's Private Secretary, 16 Apr. 1948, in same file). See also documentation in 93.03/127/4, including correspondence between

Dr. Magnes and General MacMillan and record of conversations with Chief Secretary Gurney and Under-Secretary Fox-Strangways. File also includes minutes of meeting of Hadassah Council on 15 April. (2) In the attack on the Mount Scopus convoy 76 out of 98 passengers were killed. (3) Brigadier Charles P. Jones, C.O. 2nd Infantry Brigade.

Editorial Note before No. 390 (Main Volume, p. 650)

The Second Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly convened on 16 April for a further discussion of the Palestine problem, in pursuance of the Security Council resolution of 1 April. (See Editorial Note, p. 117). On the same day the General Committee approved the agenda and recommended to refer the Palestine question to the First (Political and Security) Committee. This recommendation received 11 affirmative votes; the representatives of the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia and Uruguay abstained, having declared that there was no need for another special session. The General Assembly approved the Committee's recommendation on 19 April, and thereafter the main part of the discussions took place in the First Committee. The General Assembly held three plenary meetings to discuss the security of Jerusalem (one on 26 April and two on 6 May) and a concluding plenary meeting to discuss the problem of Palestine (14 May). At this meeting the General Assembly decided to appoint a Mediator for Palestine and to relieve the Palestine Commission from the further exercise of its responsibilities. (See Editorial Note, p. 157). For summary of discussions in the General Assembly and in the First Committee see *Yearbook of the United Nations 1947/48,* pp. 257–81.

No. 390

(1) See draft dated 13 April 1948 in 93.03/95/14. An earlier draft of 2 April 1948, was transmitted to Leo Kohn by the American Consul-General in Jerusalem on 21 April (see Kohn's note of same date and draft trusteeship agreement in C.Z.A. S25/5354). The draft of 2 April was published in *FRUS,* 1948, V, pp. 778-96). The final draft, which differed only slightly from the earlier ones, was submitted by Austin to the First Committee of the General Assembly on 20 April. (U.N. document A/C.1/277. See *GAOR, 2nd Sp. Sess., Annex,* pp. 12-31). See also memorandum by Eliash on draft agreement, dated 19 Apr. 1948 (93.03/95/14). (2) Article 76 enumerates the basic objectives of the trusteeship system. (3) Cf. article 47 of the draft

trusteeship agreement: "... by a majority of both the Arab and Jewish Communities of Palestine by means of a plebiscite..." (4) Article 79 reads: "The terms of trusteeship of each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations..."

No. 391

(1) The telegram was sent shortly after the Security Council had approved the resolution calling for a truce, in the early hours of 17 April. (See Editorial Note, p. 127).

No. 393

(1) See also No. 403 and note 1 there.

No. 395

(1) Letter in file 93.03/117/20. The letter, which was written before the final fate of the Etzion convoy became known (see No. 323, note 1), opens with the words: "This is the most terrible day since the beginning of the war." Ben-Gurion wrote, *inter alia,* that he was increasingly concerned about the problem of equipment (for the Haganah) and that there had as yet been no change in that respect. (Cf. No. 321, note 1). (2) No. 388. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 25 above). (3) I.e., Ben-Gurion's assumption that the truce resolution had been drafted by the British Foreign Office. (See *ibid.*). (4) Ben-Gurion wrote that the draft resolution included an implied prohibition on the immigration of adults to Palestine. (See *ibid.* and Editorial Note, p. 127). (5) The British representative (Cadogan) stated in the Security Council on 16 April that the British Government would in any case admit into Palestine the last monthly quota of immigrants. (See *SCOR, Third Year,* No. 58, p. 23). (6) Obviously refers to *first* of the two provisions in draft truce resolution, which Ben-Gurion described as "the most dangerous", i.e., British supervision of the truce. (See No. 388. [Hebrew. For English summary see p. 25 above]). (7) See Editorial Note, p. 127. Refers to article 4 in Colombian draft resolution, which did not receive the necessary 2/3 majority. (For: Canada, China, Colombia, France, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.; abstained: Argentina, Belgium, Syria, U.K., U.S.A.).

No. 396

(1) Apparently sent in reply to No. 391, and possibly also to additional telegram from Shertok to Ben-Gurion, dated 18 April 1948, in which he asked for instructions concerning attitude to truce. (Telegram in file 130.09/2337/4). (2) See No. 369 (dated 9 Apr. 1948). (3) Shertok transmitted text of telegram to President of Security Council (López). The last sentence was omitted. (See letter of 20 Apr. 1948, 93.03/94/5).

No. 397

(1) For earlier contacts between Proskauer and State Department see Proskauer–Lovett correspondence of February–March 1948, in same file. See also Joseph M. Proskauer, *A Segment of My Times*, pp. 248–59. (2) 16 April. (3) The *New York Times* editorial, of 17 April, expressed support for Charles Taft's proposal that Jerusalem should be declared an open city. (See No. 384, note 4). (4) See No. 355, note 1.

No. 398

(1) See *SCOR, Third Year*, No. 58, p. 36. (2) On 18 April a unit of the Arab Legion attacked Neveh Ya'aqov, north of Jerusalem.

No. 399

(1) See No. 373. (2) On 22 March Herbert Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister, published a statement in which he denounced the attempt to abandon the partition plan. He stated, *inter alia*, that the partition decision was just and impartial and must not be lightly set aside. If the great powers who had supported the decision would have firmly adhered to it, implementation would probably not have been difficult. Evatt declared that "the United Nations decision has been gradually undermined by intrigues directed against the Jewish people." (See text in 93.03/125/17).

No. 400

(1) One word missing in original. (2) See No. 398, note 2.

No. 401

(1) See No. 400. (2) See Editorial Note, p. 134.

No. 403

(1) See No. 393. Shertok had not understood which holy places were meant. (See his telegram to Eytan, 19 Apr. 1948, 93.01/2180/14).

No. 404

(1) For Ben-Gurion's reply see No. 413.

Editorial Note before No. 405 (Main Volume, p. 666)

In the second half of April 1948 there began a mass flight of Arabs from various areas in Palestine, following the successes achieved by the Haganah and the capture of the Manshiya quarter of Jaffa by the I.Z.L. When the Arab part of Tiberias was taken by the Haganah on 18 April, the Arab population left the town. Three days later, the Haganah started a general offensive in Haifa, after the British forces had been withdrawn to the harbour area, and by 22 April the whole town, except the British sector, was in Jewish hands. The Arabs rejected the proposed terms of surrender which provided, *inter alia,* for equal rights to the Arab residents, and despite an appeal by the Jewish mayor, the greater part of the Arab population left the town. On 22 April the Syrian representative (Fares al-Khuri) told the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly that the Haganah was massacring Arabs in Haifa. He said that Jewish policy was "to annihilate the Arabs on the territory of the so-called Jewish State and they had proceeded to carry out the policy everywhere, notably in Tiberias." Shertok immediately requested information from Palestine. In addition to the telegram printed here (No. 405), he asked Zaslani whether the Arabs had left Tiberias under pressure or of their free will. On the following day he cabled again, requesting information on the extent of the Arab flight, especially from the Tel Aviv area, the Sharon, Tiberias and Haifa. Zaslani reported on the capture of Haifa in a telegram dated 23 April, emphasizing the special precautions taken by the Haganah in order to prevent casualties among women and children. He quoted senior British army officers who had expressed appreciation for the smoothness of the Haganah operation, and who had been particularly impressed by the relatively small number of Arab casualties. On 26 April, Zaslani reported on the capture of Tiberias, explaining that the evacuation of the Arab population "was conducted by British police and military under suitable arrangements with Jewish bodies." Shertok answered al-Khuri's accusations in the Security Council on 23 April and in the First Committee on 26 April.

In the Security Council he said that the evacuation had been initiated by the Arabs themselves — partly by Arab authorities and the Arab command. Shertok explained their assumed motives in accordance with Sasson's telegram (No. 408). At the meeting of the First Committee Shertok said that the Jews did not wish to drive the Arabs from their homes, on the contrary — they wanted them to be perfectly secure within the Jewish State. He said that the Arab evacuation had been dictated by Arab commanders as a political and military demonstration. (See statements of Fares al-Khuri and Shertok in First Committee, *GAOR, 2nd Sp. Sess., Main Committees,* pp. 57, 110-11; *SCOR, Third Year,* No. 62, pp. 25-6; Shertok's telegrams to Zaslani: 22 Apr. 1948, 130.09/2337/4; 23 Apr. 1948, 93.03/128/4; Zaslani's telegrams to Shertok: 23 Apr. 1948, 26 Apr. 1948, both in 93.03/128/4).

No. 405

(1) See Editorial Note above.

No. 407

(1) On 21 April the Australian delegation submitted a draft resolution to the First Committee (U.N. document A/C.1/279). In the operative part of the draft it was proposed that: 1) The General Assembly request the Palestine Commission: (a) to proceed immediately with the creation of the Provisional Councils of Government and the militias; (b) to assume, as from 15 May, in cooperation with one or both of the Provisional Councils of Government, civil administration in the relevant area or areas of Palestine; (c) to carry through in cooperation with one or both of the Provisional Councils of Government, the remaining stages after 15 May prescribed in the resolution of 29 November 1947. 2) The General Assembly call on the states of the Arab League to prohibit their nationals from engaging in activities designed to obstruct the carrying out of the resolution of 29 November. 3) U.N. members be requested to withhold aid or encouragement from either community in Palestine which was acting without the sanction of the Palestine Commission and in obstruction of the resolution of 29 November. (2) On 22 April the French representative (Parodi) submitted to the First Committee a draft resolution recommending that the General Assembly ask the Trusteeship Council to take measures for the protection of Jerusalem (U.N. document A/C.1/280). The resolution was discussed by the First Com-

mittee on 26 April. The Polish representative argued that the matter should not be referred to the Trusteeship Council but to a special sub-committee. This view was supported by the representatives of the U.S.S.R., Uruguay, Czechoslovakia and Australia, and was incorporated in an amendment submitted by the Australian delegation (U.N. document A/C.1/282). The Committee rejected this amendment as well as an amendment proposed by the Czechoslovak representative, who wished to insert an explicit reference to the resolution of 29 November 1947. The Committee approved the French draft with certain amendments proposed by the Swedish representative (U.N. document A/C.1/281). See the English text of the resolution in the corresponding Hebrew note, Main Volume, p. 669. The text printed there includes the words (in square brackets) omitted from and the words (in italics) added to the initial draft in accordance with the Swedish amendment. The resolution was approved in the Committee by a majority of 44 to 3 with 6 abstentions, and was adopted by the General Assembly on the same day. See *GAOR, 2nd Sp. Sess., Main Committees,* pp. 75-82; *GAOR 2nd Sp. Sess., Annex,* pp. 31-3.
(3) Harry T. Andrews, Minister of South Africa in the U.S. and Permanent Representative at the U.N.

No. 408

(1) Hebrew text in same file. (2) See Editorial Note, p. 134.
(3) Syria and Lebanon were also represented at this meeting, which convened on 24 April to discuss political and military coordination between members of the Arab League.

Editorial Note before No. 409 (Main Volume, p. 670)

On 23 April the Security Council discussed the implementation of the truce resolution (see Editorial Note, p. 127). The Jewish Agency representative (Shertok) reaffirmed that the Jews would accept a ceasefire arrangement. The representative of the Arab Higher Committee (Jamal al-Husseini) said that the Jews were violating the terms of the resolution and were continuing their preparation for the establishment of their state. He declared that the Arabs would cease fire if the Jews observed the terms of the truce and if the situation was frozen, politically and militarily. On the same day the Council adopted a resolution providing for the establishment of a Consular Truce Commission to assist the Council in supervising the implementation of the truce. The resolution was based on a draft submitted by the

American representative and incorporating several amendments proposed by the representatives of Belgium, Lebanon, Syria, the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 8 in favour (Argentina, Belgium, Canada, China, France, Syria, U.K. and U.S.A.), with 3 abstentions (Colombia, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.). For English text of resolution see corresponding Hebrew note, Main Volume, p. 671. The Truce Commission began to function a few days after the adoption of the resolution. Its members were: Chairman — Jean Nieuwenhuys (Belgium); Thomas C. Wasson (U.S.A.); René Neuville (France).

No. 410

(1) Note on copy of outgoing text reads: "Undelivered as of May 4 — recabled via Tel Aviv." But date of receipt registered on incoming text is 3 May.

No. 411

(1) See No. 394. (2) On 25 April the I.Z.L. launched an attack against Jaffa which met strong Arab resistance, assisted by British support fire. The I.Z.L. succeeded in capturing the Manshiya quarter, which had formed an Arab wedge between South Tel Aviv and the sea. The attack caused friction between the commands of the I.Z.L. and the Haganah, *inter alia* because the latter feared British intervention. (See Zaslani to Shertok, 25 Apr. 1948, 93.01/2180/15). While fighting was still going on, representatives of the Haganah (Israel Galili and Yigael Yadin) met with representatives of the I.Z.L. (Menachem Begin and Haim Landau). It was decided to give immediate effect to the agreement which had been reached between the two organizations. (See note 3). On the meeting see also Zaslani to Shertok, 27 Apr. 1948 (*ibid.*). On 28 April the Haganah launched an attack with the objective of capturing the Arab villages around Jaffa (Operation *Hametz).* At this point, most of the Arab population left Jaffa, as did the local Iraqi commander and his men. The British army took Jaffa under its protection, but when the British withdrew a fortnight later, the town surrendered to the Jews (13 May). See also No. 436. (3) On 11 March 1948 Yitzhak Gruenbaum and Moshe Shapira submitted to the Jewish Agency Executive a draft of an operative agreement between the Haganah and the I.Z.L. The agreement was approved by the Executive on 29 March. (Voted for: Peretz Bernstein, J. L. Fishman [Maimon], Moshe Kolodni [Kol],

Moshe Shapira. Voted against: David Ben-Gurion, Eliezer Kaplan). The arrangement was approved by the Zionist General Council on 12 April. (For: 39 delegates of the General Zionists, Mizrahi, ha-Po'el ha-Mizrahi and Revisionists; against: 32 delegates of Mapai, Mapam and Aliya Hadasha). The agreement became effective following the meeting between representatives of the Haganah and the I.Z.L. on 26 April (see note 2). The official English translation of the agreement approved by the Executive (copy in file 93.03/88/12) reads: "a) On the establishment of a Jewish government, the Irgun [I.Z.L.] disbands as an armed military force. b) Cooperation in local defence — the I.Z.L. posts will be under the direction of the commander of the front appointed by the Haganah, who will transmit his instructions to their officers through the instrumentality of an officer nominated by I.Z.L. c) Plans for attack on the Arab front and plans for reaction on the British front are subject to prior authorization by Haganah. Details to be clarified and arranged at a meeting of representatives and experts. Similarly, members of I.Z.L. will be prepared to implement tasks entrusted to them. d) In the event of a surrender of arms, the members of I.Z.L. located in defence posts will take into account the special factors in the position of neighbouring Haganah posts. e) No coercive actions for funds will be carried out in the Jewish or mixed sector; the I.Z.L. will not be disturbed in the free collection of funds unaccompanied by coercion; and the institutions, both in Palestine and the diaspora, will confirm that I.Z.L. does not receive from them any allocation from the campaigns carried out for the general purposes of Haganah. f) Plans for the acquisition of arms will be prepared in consultation and carried out by mutual agreement. g) If any change occurs in the political situation, it will be permissible for either party to raise the question of appropriate amendments to the agreement or of its revision." For a somewhat different but essentially similar wording see M. Begin, *The Revolt — Story of the Irgun,* Hebrew edition, pp. 423–4.

No. 413

(1) No. 404.

Editorial Note before No. 414 (Main Volume, p. 677)

Following the adoption of the Security Council resolution of 17 April calling for a truce in Palestine, the U.S. State Department tried to obtain the consent of the parties to a written agreement. The

Department was represented in these negotiations mainly by Dean Rusk, Director of the Office of United Nations Affairs; the Jewish Agency — by Moshe Shertok and, at certain stages, by Joseph Proskauer, President of the American Jewish Committee, Nahum Goldmann and A.H. Silver; the Arab side — by representatives of the Arab League states, and especially Mahmud Fawzi and the Emir Faysal (Chairmen of the delegations of Egypt and Saudi Arabia to the U.N. General Assembly). The text of five different draft agreements is printed as Appendix B, Main Volume, pp. 821 ff.). See also Rusk's reports in *FRUS,* 1948, V, pp. 858 ff.

No. 414

(1) Draft truce agreement sent by Rusk to Proskauer on 22 April (see covering note in 93.03/85/16). See text in Appendix B, Main Volume, pp. 821-2.

No. 415

(1) See No. 407, note 2.

No. 416

(1) Extract from minutes of a meeting held at the London office of the Jewish Agency on 26 April 1948. (2) Contents of conversation were cabled to the Jewish Agency in Tel Aviv and to Shertok, New York, on 19 April (130.09/2318/4; 93.01/2180/15). (3) The last part of the minutes, which does not concern the Locker–Spaak meeting, is not printed here.

No. 417

(1) See *TCOR, 2nd Sess., Third Part,* pp. 10 ff. On the authorisation of the Trusteeship Council to take measures for the protection of Jerusalem see No. 407, note 2. (2) Ben-Gurion replied on 29 April: "Cease-fire Old City . . . impossible unless free access to, from, guaranteed." (See telephone message from Palcor, 93.03/95/1). Shertok replied on same day: "Freedom access and exit is obviousity [*sic*] to be included in terms." (See telegram of 29 Apr. [received 30 Apr.], 130.09/2337/4).

No. 418

(1) See Rusk's report on this conversation in *FRUS,* 1948, V, p. 864. (2) See draft truce agreements of 25 April and 27 April in Appendix B, Main Volume, pp. 822-7. See also in file 93.03/95/1 suggested

new formulation of articles 7, 8, 15 (involving omission of article 6) in draft of 25 April. The suggested changes were included, with slight alterations, in the draft of 27 April (articles 6, 7, 14). (3) For Shertok's reply see No. 431.

No. 419

(1) Christopher Mayhew, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, British Foreign Office. (2) Date of meeting — according to Locker's telegrams to Shertok and Golda Meyerson of 29 April 1948 (93.01/2180/15; C.Z.A. S25/1551). (3) Earl of Listowel, British Minister of State for the Colonies. (4) On 26 April King Abdallah published a statement in which he declared that unless the Jews accepted his offer to be content with the status of citizens in an Arab state, he would have the honour of liberating Palestine and would head the armies of Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon which would be entrusted with the task. On the same day the decision of the Transjordanian Parliament to send the Arab Legion into Palestine was reported in the press. See also Zaslani's telegram to Shertok of 27 April, reporting that Abdallah had submitted the decision to the British Government, whose approval was expected within a few hours. (Telegram in 93.03/128/4). See also No. 406 note 2. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 25 above). (5) See No. 408, note 3. (6) Reports about King Abdallah's approach to the High Commissioner were published in the press. See for instance report in *Davar* of 26 April, according to which the King had on 23 April sent a telegram to the High Commissioner informing him that he might soon be obliged to intervene on behalf of the Arabs of Palestine. (7) Foreign Secretary Bevin stated in the House of Commons on 28 April that the Arab Legion would be withdrawn from Palestine before the termination of the Mandate. He added that Great Britain was obliged by treaty to pay a subsidy to Transjordan in respect of the Arab Legion and to provide the latter with certain service personnel. He pointed out that the treaty provided that nothing in it shall prejudice the rights and obligations of the parties under the United Nations Charter. (See *450 H.C. Deb. 5s,* col. 373).

No. 422

(1) Thus in copy of outgoing text. Code number on incoming text: 58/214. (2) Refers to amended draft of 27 April — see Appendix B, Main Volume, pp. 825-8. The draft was transmitted to Leo

Kohn on 30 April. (See his note of 7 May 1948, C.Z.A. S25/5176). (3) According to article 14 of the draft, the truce agreement was to be effective for 3 months and thereafter unless one of the parties gave at least 30 days' notice of termination. (4) Of arms supplies. (5) The telegram was sent to Jerusalem and received only on 5 May. No reply has been found. Cf. No. 461.

No. 423

(1) The above formulation was agreed upon during a short interval in the discussions of the Trusteeship Council, which had been arranged for the purpose of informal consultations with the representatives of the parties (Shertok and Jamal al-Husseini). When the formal discussions were resumed, the Chairman read the agreed text and announced that Shertok would cable it to the Jewish Agency in Palestine, and that after a reply was received, the specific terms of the truce agreement for Jerusalem would be elaborated between a representative of the Trusteeship Council and the representatives of the parties. Husseini declared that he did not require further authorization from the Arab Higher Committee, and that he would request the latter to order a cease-fire as soon as Shertok had received an affirmative answer. (See *TCOR, 2nd Sess., Third Part,* pp. 34-5).

No. 424

(1) The press cuttings are attached to letter in file.

No. 425

(1) Contents of telegram had been approved by Ben-Gurion — see Kaplan to Meyerson, 29 Apr. 1948, C.Z.A. S25/8176. (2) See No. 423. (3) See No. 411, note 2. (4) For Shertok's reply see No. 448.

No. 426

(1) Message received through Palcor by telephone. (2) Ben-Gurion. (3) The message was apparently sent before Ben-Gurion received Shertok's telegram of 28 April (No. 423). The press reported on 29 April that Shertok and Husseini had agreed to a cease-fire in the Old City of Jerusalem.

No. 427

(1) Apparently sent in reply to Ben-Gurion's telephonic message of same day (No. 426).

No. 428

(1) See draft truce agreement of 27 April in Appendix B, Main Volume, pp. 825-8. For a detailed report of Marshall's statement see *FRUS,* 1948, V, p. 875, note 1. (2) Draft truce agreement of 25 April — see Appendix B, Main Volume, pp. 822–4. (3) See No. 422 and note 2 there.

No. 429

(1) Telegram sent to Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Received in Tel Aviv — 2 May, in Jerusalem — 30 April. The telegram to Jerusalem included an additional paragraph which was cabled to Tel Aviv in a separate telegram and is printed here as document No. 430.

No. 430

(1) But see No. 440.

No. 431

(1) No. 418. (2) No. 428. (3) At a joint meeting of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive and the Agency's Political Advisory Committee. (See ASJAE, 2 May 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/43). (4) In his reply of 30 April, Proskauer urged Shertok to try to reach a truce agreement. (Letter in 93.03/85/16). See also No. 439.

No. 432

(1) See No. 407, note 2. (2) Roger Garreau, French represen tative on the Trusteeship Council. (3) See No. 423. (4) See No. 373.

No. 433

(1) See No. 421. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 27 above). (2) See No. 369. (3) See Nos. 404, 413. (4) On 28–29 April Arab Legion artillery shelled Kibbutz Gesher in the Jordan Valley. On 28 Apr. units of the Arab Legion, which had on the previous day occupied the former British El Alamein barracks in southern Jerusalem, fired at the Jewish quarters of Talpiot and Meqor Hayim. See also No. 398, note 2.

No. 434

(1) Cf. No. 411, note 3. (2) For the Jewish Agency's reply see No. 435.

No. 435

(1) No. 434.

No. 436

See No. 411, note 2. For Jewish Agency's reply see No. 437.

No. 437

(1) No. 436. (2) The meeting took place on 26 April. See No. 420 and note 1 there. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 27 above). (3) See No. 344 and note 1 there. (Hebrew. For English summary, see p. 23 above); Nos. 353, 369. The High Commissioner repeated his cease-fire offer in a conversation with Ben-Gurion on 25 April. (See Ben-Gurion diary, entry of same date). See also No. 251. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 18 above); No. 260.

No. 438

(1) See No. 423.

No. 439

(1) Proskauer wrote down the message in the course of a conversation with Goldmann on the same day and requested that it be transmitted to Ben-Gurion. (See Proskauer to Shertok, 30 Apr. 1948, 93.03/85/16). (2) On 28 April General Hilldring accepted an appointment as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Palestine Affairs, but a month later he withdrew his acceptance on grounds of ill health. (See *FRUS*, 1948, V, p. 879). On Hilldring's friendly attitude during the General Assembly's discussions in the autumn of 1947 see D. Horowitz, *State in the Making*, p. 256. (3) In reply, Ben-Gurion explained that there had been a delay in the delivery of Proskauer's telegram and assured him that his views would be seriously considered by the Jewish Agency Executive. He expressed appreciation for Proskauer's support in the struggle for the establishment of the Jewish State. (See Ben-Gurion to Lourie, for Proskauer, 7 May 1948, 93.03/85/16).

No. 440

(1) See No. 430. (2) See Security Council resolution of 17 April, sub-paragraph 1(c), Main Volume, p. 633. (3) This quota was fixed in article 10 of the draft truce agreement of 27 April and in

corresponding articles of earlier drafts. The article was dropped in the draft of 29 April. (See Appendix B, Main Volume, p. 826).

No. 442

(1) Contents of telegram were also transmitted by telephone — see Ben-Gurion Archives, file 204. (2) For the discussion in the Trusteeship Council see *TCOR, 2nd Sess., Third Part,* pp. 53 ff. (3) No. 438.

No. 443

(1) On the night of 29–30 April the Haganah launched an attack against the Qatamon quarter of Jerusalem and captured the St. Simeon monastery. See also No. 453, note 2.

Editorial Note before No. 445 (Main Volume, p. 709)

At the Trusteeship Council meeting on 30 April, the British representative (Fletcher-Cooke) proposed the appointment of a neutral chairman to head the Jerusalem Municipal Commission, in order to "provide a focus for essential municipal services." It was suggested that the representative of the International Red Cross might be a suitable candidate, but when the Council met on 3 May, Fletcher-Cooke informed it that the organization's statutes did not allow its representatives to accept such a post. At the afternoon session on the same day, Fletcher-Cooke, who had in the meantime been informed that the Municipal Commission would not be in office after 15 May, proposed that a Special Municipal Commissioner be appointed. This proposal was included in the Trusteeship Council's report to the General Assembly, which recommended on 6 May that the Mandatory Power appoint a neutral acceptable to Arabs and Jews as Special Municipal Commissioner, who would, in cooperation with the existing Community committees, carry out the functions formerly performed by the Municipal Commission. On 8 May Colonial Secretary Creech Jones announced that the High Commissioner had not been able to find a suitable person, and on 14 May Harold Evans was appointed Municipal Commissioner on behalf of the U.N. (See *TCOR, 2nd Sess., Third Part,* pp. 72, 76, 84–5. For the General Assembly resolution [No. 187 (S-2)] see *Yearbook of the United Nations, 1947/48,* p. 267).

No. 446

(1) Letter in file 93.03/126/9. (2) Note on copy of letter reads: "Sent by hand, with supplementary handwritten paragraph."

No. 447

(1) Shertok on the same day transmitted the text of the telegram to Trygve Lie. A. Sobolev acknowledged receipt on 8 May, after having distributed the text to members of Security Council as U.N. document S/730. (See his letter in file 93.03/130/3). (2) See details in No. 470. Later it transpired that no Egyptian forces had entered Palestine. (*Ibid.*).

No. 448

(1) Reference is apparently to No. 425, though this telegram was not coded. (2) See No. 423.

No. 450

(1) The text printed here was sent through Fischer in Paris. A similar telegram had been sent on the previous day directly to Jerusalem, and also through London. (Telegrams in C.Z.A. S25/5176, S25/8176). (2) Shertok and Ruffer cabled Zaslani on the same day, demanding an immediate reply. Zaslani cabled on 4 May, explaining that instructions were delayed because of the dispersion of those who had to reply and almost insurmountable difficulties of communications. (See Shertok to Zaslani, 2 May 1948, 93.03/95/1; Ruffer to Zaslani, 2 May 1948, 93.03/128/5; Zaslani to Ruffer, 4 May 1948, *ibid.).*

No. 452

(1) Chaim Weizmann. (2) Hebrew: President, i.e. — President Truman. (3) See Editorial Note, p. 198. (4) Hebrew: Foreign deputy (correct transliteration: *Sgan Hutz),* i.e. — Under Secretary of State Lovett. (5) See No. 439, note 2. (6) 15 May. (7) Cf. Rusk's report on his conversation with President Truman on 30 April in *FRUS,* 1948, V, pp. 877-9. (8) Eban spoke in the First Committee of the General Assembly on 1 May. He sharply criticized the trusteeship plan, both in principle and in detail, describing it as an attempt to turn the wheel back at a time when partition was actually being implemented. He warned that trusteeship would have to be enforced by outside forces. (See *GAOR, 2nd Sp. Sess.,*

Main Committees, p. 267). (9) On 27 April the delegation of Guatemala submitted to the First Committee of the General Assembly a draft resolution providing for the appointment of a sub-committee to inquire whether trusteeship was desired or would be accepted by the population of Palestine and whether it could be implemented. Subsequently the U.S. delegation submitted a revised draft which explicitly mentioned the American draft trusteeship agreement. (See No. 390 and note 1 there). After the introduction of some further amendments the Committee on 4 May adopted a resolution providing for establishment of a sub-committee ("Sub-Committee 9") to formulate a proposal for a provisional regime in Palestine, taking into account: a) whether the proposal was likely to commend itself to Jews and Arabs; b) whether it could be implemented; c) the approximate cost. (See U.N. documents A/C.1/284, A/C.1/285 and A/C.1/292 in *GAOR, 2nd Sp. Sess., Annex*, pp. 33-5). (10) See Appendix B, Main Volume, pp. 825-30. (11) On the same day Shertok asked Ben-Gurion to inform him whether it would be possible to fly him from Athens and back or, alternatively, if Ben-Gurion could meet him in Athens for urgent consultations. (See telegram to Fischer for Ben-Gurion, 2 May 1948, 93.03/95/1). (12) See No. 428 and note 1 there. (13) No. 428. (14) Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, in which the mandates system was laid down.

No. 453

(1) According to original heading (not printed here), this is an agreed summary of the conversation. (2) On 1 May British forces under the command of Brigadier Jones intervened to stop the advance of the Haganah units which had captured most of the Qatamon quarter in Jerusalem. (3) See No. 464. (4) The Iraqi consulate, in which a force of the Arab Legion had taken up positions, was damaged in the course of the battle for Qatamon.

No. 454

(1) The proposal was advanced by Dean Rusk and approved by President Truman. It was transmitted on the same day to the Arab, British and Jewish representatives in New York and cabled to the American Consul in Jerusalem, who was instructed to transmit it to the Jewish Agency. (See full text of proposal in note of 4 May 1948, C.Z.A. S25/5176). See also Kaplan to Shertok, 5 May 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1559; *FRUS*, 1948, V, p. 891, note 1. (2) See No. 462.

No. 455

(1) At a meeting of the Trusteeship Council on the same day, the British representative, Fletcher-Cooke, reported on the negotiations for a cease-fire in Jerusalem which were being conducted through the good offices of the Red Cross. (See No. 466 and note 1 there. [Hebrew. For English summary see p. 29 above]). It transpired that the Jewish and Arab representatives at the U.N. had not been informed of these negotiations. (See *TCOR, 2nd Sess., Third Part,* pp. 77-8; *Ha'aretz,* 4 May 1948). (2) See Editorial Note, p. 144.

No. 456

(1) At the morning session of the Trusteeship Council on 3 May, Shertok suggested that the negotiations of truce terms for the Old City of Jerusalem be conducted through the mediation of the Palestine Truce Commission. Jamal al-Husseini, on the other hand, suggested negotiations through the High Commissioner. At the opening of the afternoon session the President announced that the parties had agreed that the High Commissioner would undertake the elaboration of the truce terms in consultation with the two parties. (See *TCOR, 2nd Sess., Third Part,* pp. 75–9). (2) See No. 451.

No. 457

(1) The meeting was held on 2 May in Naharayim, on the border between Palestine and Transjordan. The Arab Legion was represented by two British officers — Colonel Desmond Goldie and Major Charles Coker; the Haganah — by Shlomo Rabinowicz (Shamir) and Nahum Spiegel. (See Rabinowicz's report in 130.11/2513/2). (2) Rabinowicz denied such an implication. He said that the operations of the Haganah in the Jaffa area had been launched in order to put an end to the harassment of Tel Aviv and to secure the road to Jerusalem. (*Ibid.*). (3) See No. 470, p. 740. (4) Corrected in conformity with incoming text.

No. 458

(1) Herzog sent a similar (Hebrew) telegram to Zaslani on 3 May (C.Z.A. S53/2078). (2) Reference is apparently to the telegram to Parodi of 1 May 1948 (No. 447). (3) In the incoming text there are three superfluous words.

No. 459

(1) Draft of 27 April (amended text) — see Appendix B, Main Volume, pp. 825-8. (2) Mistake in original ("5.4.58").

No. 460

(1) The memorandum was transmitted to President Truman through Herbert Lehman. (See Z. Ganin, "The diplomacy of the weak; American Zionist leadership during the Truman era, 1945–1948", p. 448). (2) See No. 483 and note 7 there.

No. 461

(1) See ASJAE, 3 and 4 May 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/43. See also No. 477 and note 1 there. (2) In the Political Advisory Committee 4 voted for and 6 against. Voted for: J. Schechtman (Revisionists, United States); Z. Herman (General Zionists — ha-Oved ha-Zioni, Palestine); I. Goldstein (General Zionists, United States); A.L. Gelman (Mizrahi, United States). Voted against: A.Y. Greenberg (ha-Poel ha-Mizrahi, Palestine); Y. Riftin (Mapam, Palestine); L. Segal (Labour, United States); Y. Wolfsberg (ha-Poel ha-Mizrahi, Palestine); S. Moses (Aliya Hadasha, Palestine); B. Zuckerman (Labour, United States). [See Shertok to Ben-Gurion, 5 May 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1710]. (3) Ben-Gurion declared on the same day, at the first meeting of the Jewish National Council, that the Jews would consent to a truce on two conditions: "a) No political condition to curtail or restrict immigration and to arrest our activities aimed at setting up the state. b) Evacuation of the armed bands and prevention of their entry into the country." (See National Council, Provisional State Council, *Record of Discussions* [Hebrew], Vol. I, National Council, p. 7). The debate about the text of the proclamation of independence was postponed and took place on 14 May. See also No. 468. (4) For a further explanation by Shertok see No. 469. (5) The American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive decided on 3 May to reject Dean Rusk's proposal for flying out a party of accredited representatives to Palestine for truce negotiations. (See No. 454). It also rejected Goldmann's proposal to send a delegation composed of Shertok, Neumann and Goldmann to Palestine. It was agreed that Shertok's visit to Palestine (see No. 452, note 11) must in no way be associated with the truce proposal, and that a decision on his visit would be taken on the day following the despatch of the reply to

Rusk. (See ASJAE, 3 May 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/43). On 6 May Ben-Gurion suggested that Shertok come to Palestine immediately. (Telegram in 93.03/128/5). (6) Ben-Gurion informed Shertok on 6 May that communication with members of the Jewish Agency Executive and of the National Administration in Jerusalem was extremely difficult and that he could not reply on his own. He personally did not agree with Shertok and preferred that he return for consultations. (Telegram in C.Z.A. S25/1559). Kaplan cabled Shertok on 5 May from Jerusalem, requesting the reasons for rejection of the American proposal, "as some of us do not favour rejection *en bloc.*" *(Ibid.).*

No. 462

(1) See No. 454. (2) See No. 461, note 5. (3) See Rusk's reaction to this telegram in *FRUS,* 1948, V, pp. 894-5. He regarded it as proof of the Jews' intention to set up their state by force of arms and to extend its territory.

No. 463

(1) See No. 454. (2) In a telegram of the same date Ben-Gurion agreed to accept a ten days' cease-fire order, but expressed concern lest deferment of termination of the Mandate "may be thin edge for their remaining." (Telegram in same file).

No. 464

(1) See No. 421. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 27 above). (2) From this point the telegram could not be deciphered at the Jewish Agency's New York Office. (See incoming text). (3) 1–2 May. (4) See No. 453. (5) See also No. 465. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 28 above). (6) See No. 466. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 29 above).

No. 467

(1) Note refers to draft truce agreement of 29 April. (See Appendix B, Main Volume, pp. 828-30). (2) See No. 461 and note 5 there. (3) See note of 4 May 1948 (93.03/126/5). The note was intended to clarify certain legal-constitutional questions relating to the establishment of the Jewish state in conformity with the General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947, with reference to the proposal for a truce in Palestine. (4) See No. 45, note 7.

No. 468

(1) See No. 461, note 3.

No. 469

(1) No. 461.

No. 470

(1) See No. 447. (2) The places mentioned in this paragraph are Malikiya, Adeisse and Bteihah. (3) See No. 408, note 3. (4) Appended to original document but not printed here. About King Abdallah's statement at the close of the Amman conference see No. 419, note 4. (5) See No. 419, note 7. (6) No. 398.

No. 471

(1) See also Fischer's report about conversation with Gabriel Bonneau, head of the African–Levant Department in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on 4 May. (Fischer to Blum, 6. May 1948, 93.02/183/7). According to the report, Fischer expressed astonishment at Parodi's support of the trusteeship plan, to which Bonneau replied that Parodi had not followed instructions. (See also No. 484 and note 1 there). (2) The American truce proposal. (3) Deciphering mistake in original.

No. 472

(1) Kaplan was in Jerusalem at the time. The telegram was apparently formulated in Tel Aviv on the basis of information which Kaplan had cabled to Ben-Gurion from Jerusalem on the preceding day — 4 May. (See draft of telegram in C.Z.A. S25/9390).

No. 473

(1) Reference is apparently to No. 445. See also No. 455, which had been received in Tel Aviv on 4 May but had apparently not yet been forwarded to Kaplan in Jerusalem. See also Editorial Note, p. 144. (2) The Jerusalem Committee was established by the Jewish Agency Executive in April 1948. The Committee was empowered to deal with questions of supply, transportation, mobilization of manpower, and supervision of the Civil Guard and the police. D.B. Joseph was appointed Chairman. (3) Jacques de Reynier.

No. 474

(1) On 12 April the Zionist General Council decided that "upon the termination of the Mandatory regime... the Governing Body of the Jewish State shall come into being." The General Council also confirmed the declaration of the Jewish Agency Executive and the Va'ad Le'umi of 23 March 1948 (see No. 302), in which it was stated, *inter alia,* that "upon termination of the Mandatory Administration, and not later than May 16th next, a Provisional Jewish Government will commence to function in cooperation with representatives of the U.N. then in Palestine." (See The Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, *Reports of the Executives submitted to the Twenty-Third Zionist Congress at Jerusalem, Ab 5711/August 1951,* Jerusalem 1951, pp. 96-7). (2) See Appendix A, Main Volume, p. 802. (3) See Appendix A, Main Volume, p. 806.

No. 476

(1) See No. 475. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 30 above).

No. 477

(1) *Sic.* In fact reference is to meetings of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive and of the Political Advisory Committee on 3 and 4 May — see ASJAE, 3 May 1948, 4 May 1948, C.Z.A. Z5/43. (2) See No. 302. (3) See No. 474, note 1. (4) See No. 478.

No. 479

(1) David Niles. (2) No. 428. (3) No. 480. (4) Cf. No. 480, note 1. (5) Cf. Shertok's statement at the meeting of the National Administration on 12 May 1948: "The people who are dealing with the matter had in the meantime done their best to undermine the Jewish position through a war of nerves. For instance, they spread a rumour that I had consented to this [i.e., the State Department's draft truce agreement]. I immediately wrote an appropriate letter. They got Proskauer's consent to the truce. They succeeded in obtaining Lehman's consent. They thus obtained the President's blessing. They brought Lehman to the President and he subsequently declared that he agreed." (See National Administration, *Proceedings* [Hebrew], p. 55). On the above mentioned conversation between President Truman and Lehman, and Lehman's declaration supporting a truce of three to four months' duration see

New York Herald Tribune of 5 May 1948. (6) Apparently refers to a meeting which took place on 26 April — see *FRUS*, 1948, V, p. 864. (7) Words in square brackets crossed out in original.

No. 480

(1) Shertok gave this letter to Marshall at their meeting on 8 May. (See No. 483). On 9 May Judge Rosenman sent a copy to Clark Clifford, Special Counsel to the President, enclosing copies of Shertok's letter to Marshall of 29 April (No. 428) and of his telegram to Rusk of 4 May (No. 462). [See Rosenman to Clifford, 9 May 1948, Elath Papers]. (2) See No. 479, note 5. See also memorandum of conversation at State Department between Marshall, McClintock and Magnes on 4 May. (*FRUS*, 1948, V, pp. 901–4). According to this report, Magnes suggested that the United States use pressure, including financial sanctions, to compel the parties to accept a truce. He expressed support for the trusteeship proposal. (3) Goldmann informed Marshall on 10 May that he agreed with the position taken by Shertok, and that the Jewish side had not accepted the American truce proposals as they stood. (See letter in Elath Papers).

No. 481

(1) The National Council and the National Administration. (2) One sentence not printed here. (3) Alleged letter of Comintern President Zinoviev, instructing British Communists on the eve of British general elections in October 1924 to practice sabotage. (4) See No. 171 and note 1 there.

No. 482

(1) General MacMillan. (2) The British soldiers were killed in an attack of a Lehi unit on two army vehicles near Tel Mond. One of the vehicles was captured. (3) Reference is apparently to a telegram sent by King Abdallah to the U.N. Secretary-General on 4 May. He expressed regret at the useless killings by both sides, and offered the Jews full citizenship in a unitary state and a special administration in particular areas. (4) The planned meeting between the Consular Truce Commission and the Arab League Secretary-General having failed to materialize, a meeting was held on 5 May in Jericho attended by: a) on behalf of the Commission — the American Consul in Jerusalem (Wasson) and the Commission's

Secretary (Roscher Lund); b) on behalf of the Arab League — Taqi al-Din Sulh (Adviser at the League Secretariat) and Hussein Saraj (Transjordanian Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). The Arab representatives agreed to a truce in the entire municipal area of Jerusalem, on condition that the city did not serve as a base for military operations and that the parties evacuate all territory captured since the beginning of hostilities. Sulh refused to agree to the opening of the Jerusalem–Tel Aviv road. He also refused to guarantee the maintenance of the water supply to Jewish Jerusalem, but argued that there was no danger that a pipeline serving both sides would be cut off. The Arab representatives agreed that there should be free access to the Holy Places, including the Wailing Wall. Sulh proposed the establishment of a committee representing the three religious communities to deal with municipal affairs and supervise the truce. (See minutes in 134/778/1).

No. 483

(1) See also Shertok's report on the conversation with Marshall, at the meeting of the National Administration in Tel Aviv on 12 May. (National Administration, *Proceedings* [Hebrew], pp. 55–6). (2) Ben-Gurion had asked Shertok to return home immediately. (See his telegram of 6 May 1948, C.Z.A. S25/1559). Shertok left the United States shortly after his meeting with Marshall and arrived in Tel Aviv on 11 May. (3) See No. 449. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 28 above). (4) No. 457. (5) Passage incomplete in original. (6) See No. 229 and note 1 there. (7) Creech Jones proposed in the First Committee of the General Assembly on 3 May the establishment of a central neutral authority on behalf of the U.N., to further the cause of mediation and take over certain assets. He said that trusteeship was unacceptable to the parties and would be regarded as postponing independence. The interim regime he proposed would not prejudice the rights, claims or position of either party or the character of the ultimate settlement. (See *GAOR, 2nd Sp. Sess., Main Committees,* pp. 209-10). At the National Administration meeting on 12 May, Shertok described the British attitude in the following words: "a) they are against trusteeship; b) they are for partition; c) they are for war in Palestine; d) they are ostensibly for a truce, but hope that nothing will come of it; e) they think that the war will weaken both Jews and Arabs. Formerly they may have thought that it would weaken only the Jews, now they under-

stand that it will also weaken the Arabs. Furthermore, they are now prepared to reckon with the possibility that the Jewish state will be established on the territory allotted to it and perhaps a little more. Of all proposals put forward at the U.N.... except for the Russian approach, which is entirely identical with the Zionist approach, the English proposal is the most acceptable..." National Administration, *Proceedings* [Hebrew], p. 58). (8) Draft of 6 May — see Appendix B, Main Volume, pp. 830-2. (9) Reference is to the Palestine land transfers regulations of February 1940, which restricted the right of non-Arabs to acquire land. (10) No. 428. (11) Nos. 428, 480. (12) See No. 364, note 3. (13) Cf. Magnes' statements in conversation with Marshall and McClintock on 4 May (*FRUS*, 1948, V, p. 902).

No. 484

(1) See also No. 471 and note 1 there. Parodi suggested in Sub-Committee 9 of the General Assembly's First Committee that the U.N. establish a central governmental organization for Palestine, which would assume essential administrative functions after the termination of the Mandate. In talks with members of the sub-committee, Eban and Goldmann opposed this proposal, but were more favourably inclined toward Creech Jones' proposal, especially since he was now advocating in the sub-committee the establishment of an "agency" instead of an "authority". (Cf. No. 483, note 7). [See reports of Eban and Goldmann, including latter's report on a conversation with Parodi, in ASJAE, 10 May 1948 (morning session), C.Z.A. Z5/2388]. (2) A few hours later, Fischer sent another telegram, informing Shertok that following the intervention of René Mayer and Bidault, Parodi was instructed to give no active support to "new schemes". (Telegram in same file).

Editorial Note before No. 485 (Main Volume, p. 770)

On 7 May the High Commissioner met the Secretary-General of the Arab League. (According to the official communiqué — in Jericho, according to other sources — in Jerusalem). Azzam Pasha gave his qualified consent to a truce in Jerusalem, and on 8 May the Palestine Government announced unilaterally that the truce would come into effect at noon on the same day. The Haganah command in Jerusalem ordered its forces to cease fire at noon, but a Jewish Agency spokesman declared that the cease-fire was temporary and enumerated the

Jewish Agency's conditions for a truce: free movement on the Jerusalem–Tel Aviv road, free access to the Old City of Jerusalem and evacuation of foreign Arab forces from the City. The High Commissioner requested a meeting with members of the Jewish Agency Executive on 9 May. As the three members who would have been able to represent the Agency (Ben-Gurion, Golda Meyerson and Kaplan) were not in Jerusalem, it was suggested that the High Commissioner discuss the truce with Leo Kohn and Walter Eytan, but he refused to receive officials and insisted on meeting members of the Executive. In the evening of the same day the draft truce agreement was transmitted to the Jewish Agency over the telephone, but the meeting did not take place. Listowel and Martin, of the Colonial Office, showed the draft to Locker, who made some critical comments. (See Locker to Ben-Gurion, 10 May 1948, 130.09/2318/2). The cease-fire in Jerusalem was generally observed until the departure of the British on 14 May. See also No. 485 and note 1 there. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 30 above); No. 489.

No. 488

(1) See ASJAE, 10 May 1948 (morning session), C.Z.A. Z5/2388.

No. 489

(1) See telephone message from Ben-Gurion to Kohn, 9 May 1948 (C.Z.A. S25/9390). (2) See Editorial note, p. 154.

No. 490

(1) Bartley Crum. Member of Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, 1946. Chairman, National Council, Americans for Haganah. Member, Executive Council, American Christian Palestine Committee. On 5 May 1948 Crum cabled Ben-Gurion: "Earnestly urge, on basis Washing[ton] talks and appraisal political situation, against any political retreat, firm rejection any truce proposal regarding commitment non-proclamation Jewish State." (Telegram in file 93.01/2180/15). (2) See No. 491.

No. 491

(1) See No. 490. (2) Clark M. Clifford, Special Counsel to President of U.S.A. ((3) At the meeting of Sub-Committee 9 of the General Assembly's First Committee, on 10 May, the Committee's rapporteur, Finn Moe of Norway, submitted a working paper proposing

the establishment of a U.N. provisional central committee to take over Palestine Government assets, assume control of essential services, examine the prospects of arriving at a permanent solution and report to the General Assembly in autumn. It was suggested that the committee consist of the following members: the Chairman of the U.N. Palestine Commission, the Governor of Jerusalem and the members of the Consular Truce Commission. This provisional solution would be conditional on the parties' agreement to a truce and abstention from political and public measures liable to undermine it. The proposal was criticized by most members of the sub-committee. The French representative proposed that the U.N. be represented in Palestine by the Truce Commission, which would restrict itself to mediation. The U.S. representative maintained that the trusteeship plan was preferable to other solutions which were not based on the U.N. Charter. (See report in *New York Times,* 11 May 1948).

No. 493

(1) See No. 163, note 2. (2) Lord Mountbatten was Governor-General of India up to June 1948.

No. 494

(1) On the meeting between Golda Meyerson and King Abdallah see also No. 506.

No. 495

(1) Herzog reported to Shertok and Zaslani (Tel Aviv) on this conversation. (Telegram of 12 May 1948, in file 130.02/2443/1). (2) See No. 485. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 30 above). (3) See No. 466, note 1. (Hebrew. For English summary see p. 29 above). (4) Mistake in original ("and"). (5) Azcarate had just returned from a short visit to the United States. He had left Palestine on 24 April for consultations at U.N. headquarters.

No. 496

(1) Extract from minutes of meeting at London Office of Jewish Agency, 11 May 1948. Goldmann had met McNeil on same day, shortly after his arrival from New York. (2) Locker cabled this information to Ben-Gurion on 12 May (130.09/2318/2).

No. 500

(1) On the night of 13/14 May the Arab Legion captured the settlement of Kefar Etzion, north of Hebron. The adjacent Jewish settlements capitulated. (2) No reply found.

No. 501

(1) On the following day, 13 May, the Jaffa Emergency Committee signed a document of surrender. The Haganah forces entered the town on 14 May.

Editorial Note before No. 502 (Main Volume, p. 786)

On 13 May the U.S. representative submitted to Sub-Committee 9 of the General Assembly's First Committee a draft resolution providing for the appointment of a U.N. Commissioner for Palestine and the discharge of the U.N. Palestine Commission. The Sub-Committee and the First Committee introduced various amendments, *inter alia,* changing the title of the U.N. representative in Palestine from "Commissioner" to "Mediator". The amended resolution was adopted by the Special General Assembly at its last session, on 14 May. (In the course of the discussions the U.S. representative announced that his Government had accorded de facto recognition to the Provisional Government of the State of Israel). For the full English text of the General Assembly's resolution see corresponding Hebrew note, Main Volume, pp. 786–7.

No. 502

(1) See Editorial Note above.

No. 503

(1) I.e., the National Council (37 members) is to become the Provisional State Council, and the National Administration (13 members) — the Provisional Government. (2) The words in square brackets appear only in the incoming text.

No. 506

(1) See also Golda Meyerson's report to the National Administration on 12 May. (National Administration, *Proceedings* [Hebrew], pp. 40–4). Ezra Danin also participated in the meeting, on 10 May. Sasson was also expected to attend but was unable to arrive in time from Jerusalem.

No. 507

(1) Colonel Norman. (See telegram to Cadogan mentioned in note 3). (2) On 16 April. (3) Silver sent a copy of this telegram to the President of the Security Council (Parodi) together with a covering letter (of 14 May 1948, in file 93.03/94/5). See also Shertok to Cadogan, 14 May 1948 (130.09/2328/3).

No. 508

(1) See No. 500 and note 1 there.

No. 509

(1) Mistake in original ("15.4.48"). (2) On Goldmann's meeting with McNeil on 11 May see No. 496. See also allusion to Goldmann's report on a second meeting with McNeil in minutes of a meeting in London on 13 May (W.A.). (3) Mistake in original ("Bevin").

INDEX

TO MAIN VOLUME AND COMPANION VOLUME

INDEX*

Abadan 356

Abd-al-Ilah b. 1921. Regent of Iraq. 45, 283, 283n, 284, 739; *CV* 76

Abdallah ibn Hussein ("Meir") b. 1882. King of Transjordan. 13, 33n, 43, 43n, 44edn, 44, 44n, 45, 45n, 46, 48, 48n, 60, 88, 121–122, 125, 126–129, 126n, 143–147, 148, 154–157, 156n, 162, 185, 186, 186n, 238, 246, 252, 274, 278, 281, 283, 297, 298n, 303, 310, 327, 350, 393, 401, 417, 431, 458edn, 536n, 625–626, 626n, 656, 667–668, 667n, 668n, 670, 674, 686n, 687, 687n, 688, 712, 722–723, 731, 739n, 740, 756, 756n, 758, 765–766, 778, 778n, 780–781, 782, 789–791, 789n, 791, 793; *CV* 4–5, 8, 11–13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 42, 45, 46, 58, 61, 64, 71, 140, 150, 152, 156

Abu'l Fath, Mahmud b. 1892. Member of Senate, Egypt. Editor, daily *al-Misri*. 464

Abu'l-Huda, Tawfiq b. 1895. Prime Minister of Transjordan, from end of December 1947. 186, 186n; *CV* 64

Adeisse 739, 739n; *CV* 150

Adelson, Dorothy Journalist. On staff of Jewish Agency Office, New York. 464–467

**Abbreviations*

b. born

n. note

edn. editorial note

CV Companion Volume

Aden

Jewish refugees in 41, 41n, 118 153–154, 153n, 192, 447; *CV* 19, 44, 60

Advance Party of United Nations Palestine Commission, *see under* United Nations Palestine Commission

Afghanistan 446, 446n

Agami, Moshe, *see* Averbuch (Agami), Moshe

Agricultural Centre 261; *CV* 61

Agudat Israel 266–267, 310, 316, 319, 349, 403n, 421n, 444n, 460, 481, 560; *CV* 75, 82, 97

Aguesse, Georges Member, Council of the Republic, France. Member, Foreign Affairs Group, M.R.P. 408–410

Ahdut Ha'avoda (labour party) 304, 318, 507

See also Mapai (Palestine Labour Party), Faction B

Ahram, Al- 401

Airports 198, 693

See also Lydda Airport

Akzin, Benjamin b. 1904. Political Secretary, American Zionist Emergency Council. 131–133, 131n, 215–216, 218–222, 267n, 285–288, 290–292, 291n, 308–310, 308n, 365–367, 365n, 378–379, 642–643; *CV* 59, 75, 81, 89

Alamein Camp (Jerusalem) 701n, 740; *CV* 142

Alami, Musa al- b. 1895. Formerly adherent of the Mufti, Haj Amin al-Husseini, and representative of Palestinian Arabs at Arab League.

Established and headed Arab information offices in Jerusalem, Great Britain and the United States. 125, 125n, 145, 162, 350; *CV* 58
Al-Arish 782
Algeria 405
Aliya Hadasha (party) 318, 403n, 444n, 460, 507, 675n, 726n; *CV* 97, 138, 148
Allenby Bridge 773
Alliance Israélite Universelle 629-630
Alon, *see* Arazi, Yehuda
Alsop, Joseph W. b. 1910. American journalist. 326, 326n
Alsop, Stewart J. b. 1914. American journalist. 326, 326n
American Association for the United Nations 288–290, 289n; *CV* 78
American Committee of National Liberation 404n; *CV* 97
American Export Line 253
American Independent Oil Company 295n; *CV* 79
American Jewish Committee 193, 225n, 705–706, 749; *CV* 139
American Jewish Conference 192, 193, 295n; *CV* 79
American League for a Free Palestine 404; *CV* 97
Americans for Democratic Action 296, 296n; *CV* 79
American Zionist Emergency Council 190–192, 192n, 215, 228, 290, 291n, 365, 365n, 496; *CV* 56, 59, 65, 71, 77, 78, 90, 123, 130
Amman 45, 121, 686, 731, 731n, 739–740, 739n, 742, 783; *CV* 27, 32, 150
Anders (Polish) army 204
Andrews, Harry T. b. 1897. Minister of the Union of South Africa in U.S. Permanent Representative at U.N. 4, 669, 669n; *CV* 136
Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (1946) 590, 617; *CV* 39, 155
Anglo-Jewish Association 629
Anglo-Palestine Bank 551; *CV* 74
Ankara 389, 390
Anseele, Edouard b. 1902. Vice Chairman, Belgian Socialist Party. 418, 497–499
Anti-Semitism 331, 498
In U.S.A. 297, 357
Aqaba, Gulf of 367
Arab armed bands 37, 90, 91, 147, 149, 155, 175–176, 184, 204, 218, 221, 241–242, 242n, 247, 249–250, 259–260, 263, 277, 314, 325, 325n, 327, 332, 349–350, 363, 366, 376–377, 376n, 401, 402, 414, 415, 445, 449, 450, 450n, 451n, 455, 463, 467, 472, 473, 485, 509, 510–513, 521, 529, 548 edn, 550, 552, 567, 575, 576, 595, 600, 602–603, 605n, 605edn, 627, 633edn, 634edn, 636, 638–639, 641, 642, 648, 653, 656, 670, 672, 673, 690, 691, 704, 717, 719, 722, 723, 724, 727n, 737, 772; *CV* 28, 31, 45–46, 70, 104, 105, 116, 118, 122, 125, 126, 128, 135, 148, 155
Arab Camelry Corps 83, 84
Arab Civil Guard 31, 35, 36, 37, 39, 41
Arab Disturbances in Palestine
In 1921 421
In 1929 421
In 1936–39 37, 60, 71, 84, 151
Arab Higher Committee 9, 21n, 35, 36, 37, 81, 108, 114, 114n, 120, 121, 162, 163edn, 230, 233, 236, 281, 326, 350n, 369, 370, 379edn, 402, 422, 432, 433n, 454edn, 463, 465, 510, 527, 534, 547edn, 573, 574n, 576, 576n, 625n, 632edn, 633edn, 640, 641, 665, 670edn–671edn, 683, 692, 692n, 693, 693n, 720n, 723, 729, 766, 772; *CV* 10, 13, 18, 32, 41, 57, 62, 86, 93, 94, 102, 106, 122, 128, 136, 137, 141
Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO) 249, 356, 357, 470, 471
Arab Information Offices 125; *CV* 58
Arab League 13, 25n, 34, 44–45,

Arab League — Continued
47, 48, 58–59, 59n, 60, 74n, 125, 125n, 126, 145, 147–148, 155–156, 162, 193, 225, 226n, 256, 269–270, 281, 298n, 323, 349–350, 350n, 369, 369n, 370, 388, 391, 409, 450, 451, 457, 458, 458 edn, 459 edn, 486, 503, 506, 515, 527, 528, 536, 543, 611, 614, 639, 659, 668n, 670n, 677edn, 696, 722, 744, 756n, 770edn, 780, 789n; *CV* 11, 12, 20, 21, 23, 25, 29, 30, 51, 58, 69, 91, 135, 136, 139, 152–153, 154–155
Council 145, 398–402; *CV* 5, 41, 87
Political Committee 47n, 90–91, 90n, 790n; *CV* 45–46, 53
Palestine Committee 350n; *CV* 87
Military Committee 45, 45n, 90-91, 789; *CV* 5
Arab Legion 13, 35, 35n, 36, 37n. 70–71, 70n, 79, 83, 95, 96–97, 120, 126–127, 148, 156, 185, 186, 198, 238, 274, 277, 281, 376, 378, 401, 414, 417, 452, 462, 506, 511, 552, 575, 648, 656–658, 656n, 661, 662, 664, 672, 673, 674, 686n, 687–688, 688n, 691, 700–701, 701n, 711, 719n, 721–722, 721n, 722, 723, 730, 740–741, 756, 758–759, 761, 765, 766, 777, 778, 780–781, 782, 783, 789–790, 791–792, 793; *CV* 5, 11, 12, 26, 27, 33, 39, 43, 51, 133, 140, 142, 146, 147, 157
Arab Liberation Army 242n, 376n; *CV* 26, 65, 70, 87, 93, 103
Arab National Guard 150; *CV* 60
Arab News Agency 739, 740
Arab refugees, *see* Palestinian Arabs, Flight of
Arabs of Palestine, *see* Palestinian Arabs
Arab State in Palestine 4n, 5n, 7n, 17, 22n, 33n, 38, 44edn, 45, 45n, 54n, 56, 88n, 107, 109, 112, 125, 126–127, 126n–127n, 145, 147, 148, 150, 157n, 163edn, 179n, 185, 186,
Arab State in Palestine — Continued
204, 206, 242n, 243, 252, 266n, 268, 274, 303, 314n, 316, 318, 340, 342, 346, 348, 369–370, 381, 417, 435, 457–458, 477, 492, 493, 532, 534, 535, 539, 549, 553n, 592, 594, 599, 615n, 618, 667, 667n, 678, 679, 681, 682, 692, 710, 712, 722, 724, 725, 726, 735, 759, 767, 780, 781, 791, 799; *CV* 4, 5, 20, 25, 37, 38, 42, 43, 45, 61, 63, 67, 75, 103, 119, 125, 140
Arab Palestinian Government 145, 350n; *CV* 12, 87
See also Palestinian Arabs
Arab States 4, 6, 8, 13, 24, 28–30, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 44-46, 44edn, 47n, 52, 58n, 58–59, 67, 76, 86, 88, 90–91, 95, 97, 98, 99, 101, 104, 110, 111, 112, 121–122, 125, 126–127, 131–133, 134, 136, 137, 139, 141, 143–147, 148, 149, 156, 160, 161, 162, 173, 174, 175–176, 184–185, 187, 189, 191, 197, 201, 202, 203, 204, 207, 208, 211, 212, 218, 220-221, 223, 226, 238–240, 241–242, 247, 248, 253, 255, 256, 258, 259–260, 262, 263, 268–269, 272, 273–274, 276, 277–280, 283, 292, 301, 311, 313–315, 325, 328, 331, 333, 335, 337, 340, 341, 344, 345, 348, 350n, 354, 355–356, 359, 361, 362, 363, 366–367, 369n, 369–370, 373, 376–377, 380edn 381, 384, 389, 391, 395–397, 398–402, 408, 409, 410, 410n, 414, 426, 427, 429, 430–431, 432, 436, 452, 453, 455, 456–458, 458edn–459edn, 465, 466, 467, 470, 471–473, 476, 477, 482, 483, 485n, 486, 487, 488, 494, 511, 519, 522, 523, 524, 527, 530, 542, 555, 557, 562, 565, 570, 594, 597, 605, 619, 636, 638, 639, 642, 646, 670, 673, 686, 687, 696, 697, 712, 714, 716–717, 719, 720, 723, 725, 726, 729, 730, 731, 734, 739, 741, 747, 754, 755, 756, 758, 759, 761, 780, 785, 789–791, 789n, 793; *CV* 4, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18–21, 22–23, 28, 33, 45, 49, 86, 87,

Arab States — Continued
91, 94, 104 122, 139
Conference in Amman (April 1948) 739, 739n; *CV* 150
Military intervention in Palestine 27n, 36, 47n, 48, 90, 128, 161, 277, 281–282, 302, 310, 321, 326, 326n, 332, 400, 401n, 402, 415, 417, 418, 422, 450, 450n, 451, 455, 460, 463, 518, 519–520, 522, 530n, 561, 573, 587, 589, 590, 596, 614, 619, 639, 664, 670, 672, 686–688, 686n, 688n, 692, 697, 701, 711, 712, 717, 719, 722, 723, 727, 729, 738–741, 746, 752, 756, 758, 760–761, 765–766, 778, 780, 782, 782n, 789–791, 790n; *CV* 10, 12, 18, 28, 32, 33, 42, 46, 49, 97, 140, 145
Delegations to U.N. 6-7, 9, 399, 400, 432, 720n, 787edn; *CV* 147
Consulates in Jerusalem 89, 143, 722–723, 729–730, 730–731
See also Arab League; Egypt; Iraq; Lebanon; Saudi Arabia; Syria; Transjordan; Yemen
ARAMCO, *see* Arabian American Oil Company
Aranha, Oswaldo b. 1894. Member, Delegation of Brazil to U.N. President, Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 9, 9n, 10, 52, 555; *CV* 38
Arazi, Tuvia b. 1912. On staff of Arab Section, Jewish Agency Political Department. 631, 631n; *CV* 127
Arazi, Yehuda ("Alon") b. 1907. In charge of procurement for Haganah in U.S. Formerly (1945-47) in charge of the Mosad le-Aliya (Haganah immigration organization) activities in Italy. 333, 333n; *CV* 85
Arce, José b. 1881. Permanent Representative of Argentina at U.N. President, Second Special Session, U.N. General Assembly. 8, 383, 628, 628n, 665; *CV* 127
Arevalo, Juan J. b. 1904. President of Guatemala. 556, 556n; *CV* 120
Argentina
Government 8
Delegation to U.N. 8, 358, 381 edn, 383, 383n, 547 edn, 548 edn, 634 edn, 654n, 671 edn; *CV* 9, 49, 95, 117, 118, 128, 132, 137
Argov, Meir, *see* Grabovski (Argov), Meir
Ariav, Haim b. 1895. Secretary-General, Jewish Farmers' Federation of Palestine. Secretary, ha-Ihud ha-Ezrahi. 60, 60n.
Ariel, Joseph, *see* Fisher (Ariel), Joseph
Armour, Norman b. 1887. Assistant Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Department of State, U.S. 57–58, 58n, 58–59, 104, 113–114, 113n; *CV* 48, 56
Arms and munitions
Acquisition and importation 31, 58n, 59, 62n, 75, 88, 92, 94n, 99, 112, 113, 115, 122, 189, 257n, 302, 333, 333n, 342, 452, 461, 462, 509, 519, 522, 525, 548 edn, 593, 595, 605, 648, 653n, 675n, 696, 697, 706, 710, 716; *CV* 3, 8, 18, 21, 25, 49, 59, 65, 73, 118, 132, 141
Procurement for Haganah 11, 41, 60, 86, 247, 357–358, 384; *CV* 85; in Czechoslovakia 92, 92n, 102, 333, 333n, 338–339, 338n, 339n; *CV* 6, 86, 115
Confiscation of explosives purchased for Haganah 134, 134n, 154, 253; *CV* 59
Supply to Jews under U.N. auspices 171–174, 197, 205, 211–212, 224, 257–258, 257n–258n, 268, 333, 335–336, 339, 345,

Arms and munitions — Continued
348, 384, 418, 436–437, 450, 451, 455, 469, 518, 561, 581–582, 593, 745; *CV* 11, 16, 17, 73
Supply to Jews by Palestine Government and licensing of Jewish arms 27, 36–37, 39, 41, 61, 71, 95, 96
Supply from British Army surplus to Jews 212–213, 377, 377n; *CV* 93
Supply from France to Jews 587; *CV* 24
Air force 377, 377n, 436, 438, 453–454, 461, 462, 782; *CV* 93
Armour and armour plate 17, 27, 42, 71, 84, 95, 119, 245n, 385–386, 386n, 437, 755, 761; *CV* 9, 71, 95
Arab armament 37, 75, 260, 431, 462, 602, 716–717; *CV* 104–105; possibility of Arab armament during truce 673, 696, 697, 746, 747, 764
Supply to Arabs from: Argentina 368; Czechoslovakia 102, 102n, 112, 338–339, 339n, 347; *CV* 55; France 249, 283; Great Britain 197, 204, 262, 268, 278, 314, 376–377, 431, 552; Palestine Government 39, 41, 120, 415, 450; India 193; Turkey 352, 389; U.S.A. 221, 366–367
Arms searches and disarming of Jews 34, 42, 71–72, 75, 79–81, 82, 84, 88, 95, 109, 114, 117–118, 119–120, 149, 151, 169, 170, 182, 185, 204, 231, 233, 243, 246, 327, 377, 450, 567
See also Embargo on supply of arms to the Middle East
Arosemena, Carlos J. Vice-President and Acting President of Ecuador. 556, 556n; *CV* 120
Artas 343
Arthur, *see* Lourie, Arthur
Arutiunian, Amanzasp A. b. 1902. Representative of U.S.S.R. on U.N. Economic and Social Council. Alternate Representative, Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 300
Ashdod, *see* Isdud
Ashmoret 478
Asia 202, 411n; *CV* 99
Associated Press 441, 739
Assyrians in Iraq 417
Atarot 343, 526
Athens 665, 717n; *CV* 146
Atlit 125, 156
Attlee, Clement R. b. 1883. Prime Minister of U.K. 12
Aubrey, *see* Eban, Aubrey S. (Abba)
Augarde, Jacques b. 1918. Under-Secretary of State in charge of Muslim Affairs, France. 311, 311n; *CV* 82
Auriol, Vincent b. 1884. President of France. 488, 488n; *CV* 111
Aurore (L') 694
Auschwitz 230
See also Holocaust
Auster, Daniel b. 1893. Chairman, Jerusalem Municipal Council (Jewish sector), from April 1948. Member, National Council, April-May 1948. Formerly Acting Mayor of Jerusalem. 11, 49, 49n, 50n, 140-142, 187n, 743; *CV* 46, 47, 64
Austin, Warren R. b. 1877. U.S. representative at seat of U.N. 379 edn, 392, 393, 394, 395–397, 395n, 416, 454 edn–455 edn, 474 edn–475 edn, 475, 475n, 476, 482, 488, 499, 501, 528, 547 edn–548 edn, 565, 565n, 588n, 601, 633 edn, 642n, 644 n, 650n, 671 edn, 777n, 780 edn; *CV* 93, 94, 96, 106, 107, 109, 110, 117, 123, 128, 130, 131
Australia
Government 254-255
Delegation to U.N. 66, 254–257, 263, 660; *CV* 38, 135, 136
Autonomy, *see under* Palestine problem, proposed solutions
Averbuch (Agami), Moshe b. 1907. In charge of activities of the Mo-

sad le-Aliya (Haganah immigration organization) in Rumania. 78, 78n; *CV* 51
Aviad, Yeshayahu, *see* Wolfsberg (Aviad), Yeshayahu
Avigur, Shaul, *see* Meirov (Avigur), Shaul
Avner, Gershon, *see* Hirsch (Avner), Gershon
Avriel, Ehud, *see* Ueberall (Avriel), Ehud
Awad, Joseph E. Rector, Maronite Church in Waterville, Maine. Author of "Free Forum" column in Arabic (Lebanese) daily *al-Hoda,* New York. 631, 631n; *CV* 127
Ayalon, David, *see* Neustadt (Ayalon), David
Azcarate, Pablo de b. 1890. Assistant Principal Secretary, U.N. Palestine Commission. Head of Commission's Advance Party in Palestine, March-April 1948. Formerly (1936-39) Ambassador of Spanish Republic to U.K. 406 edn, 420, 447, 453, 467, 474, 478–480, 478n, 492, 492n, 503–504, 505, 526, 558, 562–563, 567, 568, 568n, 583–586, 587, 626, 661, 710, 778–779, 779n, 783, 784–785, 790; *CV* 19, 32, 98, 110, 112, 121, 123, 156
Azzam Pasha, Abd al-Rahman b. 1893. Secretary-General, Arab League. 27–30, 27n, 34, 44, 131–132, 369n, 370, 401, 401n, 415, 730, 731, 742, 756n, 770 edn, 778, 783; *CV* 4, 29, 32, 42, 87, 91, 97, 152, 154

Bab al-Wad 108, 253, 567n, 648, 771
Bagge, Widar b. 1886. Minister of Sweden in Egypt. 581
Baghdad 719
Baka'a, *see* Baq'a
Balfour Declaration 391, 409, 569, 651
Balkans Committee, *see* United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB)
Ball, Max W. b. 1885. Director, Oil and Gas Division, Department of the Interior, U.S. 354–357
Bancroft, Harding F. b. 1910. Associate Chief, Division of International Security Affairs, Office of U.N. Affairs, Department of State, U.S. 296, 296n; *CV* 80
Bank of Syria and Lebanon 105
Baq'a (Jerusalem) 779
Barkley, Alben W. b. 1877. Democratic minority leader, U.S. Senate. 296, 296n; *CV* 79
Baruch, Bernard M. b. 1870. Financier. Held various advisory and executive posts in U.S. administration, especially during and following First World War and during Second World War. U.S. Representative, U.N. Atomic Energy Commission, 1946. 285, 292, 295, 341, 378
Bar Yaacov, Nathan, *see* Jackson (Bar Yaacov), Nathan
Batlle Berres, Luis C. b. 1897. President of Uruguay. 555, 555n; *CV* 119
Baudoin Official, African - Levant Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France. 283, 283n; *CV* 76
Bechar, Yehoshua N., *see* Behar, Yehoshua N.
Bedouin 60, 80, 247
Beeley, Harold b. 1909. Palestine expert in Eastern Department, Foreign Office, U.K. Adviser to Foreign Secretary Bevin. 6, 12, 121–122, 430, 659; *CV* 10
Beersheba 4n, 81, 480; CV 37
Begin, Menachem b. 1913. Commander of the I.Z.L. (Irgun Zeva'i Le'umi — National Military Organization), Palestine. 59, 674n; *CV* 5–6, 137
Behar (Shai), Yehoshua N. b. 1905. Deputy-Director, Jewish Agency

Immigration Department. 194, 306, 306n, 444–447; *CV* 19, 81
Beirut 149, 253, 382
Beisan 61n, 81; *CV* 76, 103
Beit Hakerem (Jerusalem) 453
Beit Nabala 70n, 84
Beit Safafa 116n, 120, 779
Belgium
  Attitude towards partition 416–418
  Government 67n, 419, 497–499; *CV* 50
  Ministry of Foreign Affairs 386-387, 659
  Consulate in Amman 672
  Parliament and political parties 387, 387n, 416, 418–419, 497–498; *CV* 86, 95
  Delegation to U.N. 8, 66–67, 69, 115, 129, 129n, 281–282, 338, 358, 380 edn, 381 edn, 386–387, 387n, 404, 405, 407, 416–417, 429, 498, 547 edn, 548 edn, 565, 634 edn, 654n, 658–659, 671edn, 682; *CV* 50, 58, 76, 94, 95, 117, 118, 128, 132, 137
Belt y Ramirez, Guillermo b. 1905. Ambassador of Cuba to U.S. Permanent Representative at U.N. 8, 8n; *CV* 88
Bénard, Jean b. 1908. First Secretary, French Embassy, Washington. 392–393, 392n; *CV* 96
Benelux countries 676; *CV* 27
  Delegations to U.N. 8
Benes, Edvard b. 1884. President of Czechoslovakia. 76, 76n
Ben-Gurion, David b. 1886. Chairman, Jewish Agency Executive. Chairman, National Administration, April–May 1948. 15–17, 16n, 17n, 19, 20, 20n, 21–24, 26, 32, 34–35, 35n, 36–37, 36n, 38, 39–40, 41–42, 42–43, 43n, 46–47, 54–55, 57–58, 59–61, 62, 82, 85, 114–115, 114n, 121–122, 157, 183–184, 187, 217–218, 217n, 237, 247, 248, 254, 257, 257n, 257–258, 261, 292, 312, 327n, 332, 336, 338–339, 352, 357–358, 358n, 360, 360n, 384, 403, 412, 421, 422, 428, 429, 434n, 435, 444, 444n, 450–451, 459–462, 461n, 462–463, 467–468, 472, 481, 484, 484n, 489–490, 493–494, 494–495, 494n, 495, 496, 506, 509n, 525, 536, 536n, 548, 553, 566, 572, 572n, 574, 575, 576, 577, 591n, 596n, 600, 604–605, 627, 647–648, 648n, 650–652, 653, 653n, 654, 654n, 664, 667, 674–675, 675n, 677, 683, 683n, 688–689, 692–693, 693, 694n, 695, 695n, 697, 703, 704n, 705, 705–706, 705n, 706n, 707, 708, 709, 713, 717, 717n, 720, 721, 726–727, 727n, 729, 729n, 732–733, 737, 742n, 743, 747–748, 757n, 770 edn, 771, 772–773, 773–774, 774n, 775n, 777–778, 781n, 787, 793; *CV* 3–4, 5–6, 10–11, 15, 18, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31–32, 43, 44–45, 52, 56–57, 68, 73, 100, 102, 110, 115, 116, 121, 124, 132, 133, 138, 139, 141, 143, 146, 148, 149, 150, 153, 155, 156
Ben-Horin, Eliahu b. 1902. Adviser on Middle Eastern Affairs, American Zionist Emergency Council. 248n, 286, 286n; *CV* 71, 77
Ben Shemen 70n, 82–83; *CV* 51
Ben Yehuda Street (Jerusalem) 371, 375, 376, 413n, 428n, 453, 581n; *CV* 91, 92, 99, 101, 123
Ben-Zvi, Izhak b. 1884. President, General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi). Member, Zionist General Council. Member, National Council, April–May 1948. 20–21, 20n, 319, 353n, 422, 506, 559–561, 567, 567n; *CV* 23, 41, 87
Berendsen, Sir Carl A. b. 1890. Minister of New Zealand in U.S. Head of New Zealand Delegation to the Second Session and Second Special Session, U.N. General Assembly. Vice-President, U.N. Trusteeship Council. 668–669
Bergman (Biran), Avraham b. 1909.

District Officer, Jerusalem. 229, 229n
Bergman, Shmuel Hugo 411n; *CV* 99
Bergson, Peter H. (Kook, Hillel) b. 1915. Chairman, Hebrew Committee for National Liberation and American League for a Free Palestine. 404, 404n; *CV* 97
Bergson group 404, 404n; *CV* 97
Berligne, Eliahu b. 1866. Member, Executive, National Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi). Member, Zionist General Council. Member, National Council, April–May 1948. 506
Berlin, Isaiah b. 1909. Professor of Philosophy, Oxford University. On staff of British Embassy, Washington, 1942–45. 295
Berman (Raday), Haim b. 1908. Secretary, Jewish Agency Political Department. 87, 87n, 87–89, 106, 143, 194–195, 202–203, 331n, 398n, 456–458, 486, 522–524, 526, 553n, 559, 583n, 586–587, 626, 632, 671–674, 675–677, 689–691, 689n, 730–732, 771–772, 782, 783; *CV* 8–9, 12, 19–21, 22–23, 23–24, 26–27, 28–29, 31, 32, 84, 97, 112, 119, 123, 130
Berman, Jakób b. 1901. Under-Secretary of State, Prime Minister's Office, Poland. Member of Politburo of Communist Party. 100, 100n; *CV* 54–55
Bernstein, Peretz (Fritz) b. 1890. Member, Jewish Agency Executive. Head of Jewish Agency Department for Trade and Industry. Member, Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav). Member, National Administration, April–May 1948. 353, 444n, 459, 506, 675n; *CV* 137
Berres, Luis C. Batlle, *see* Batlle Berres, Luis C
Bethlehem 592, 740
Bevan, Aneurin b. 1897. Minister of Health, U.K. 474, 474n, 544; *CV* 108
Bevin, Ernest b. 1881. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, U.K. Head of British Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 12, 57n, 70n, 86n, 101, 108, 153, 238–239, 242, 277–278, 297, 298n, 308, 326, 344, 462, 471, 528, 543–544, 630, 688, 688n, 712n, 755, 758, 777, 793, 793n; *CV* 10, 48, 51 52, 70, 140, 158
Bevin Plan, *see under* Palestine problem, proposed solutions
Beyth, Hans b. 1901. Director, Jewish Agency Youth Aliya Department. Killed 26 December 1947. 117n, 121
Bidault, Georges b. 1899. Minister of Foreign Affairs, France. Head of French Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 19, 105, 105n, 139, 284, 284n, 424, 486–487, 488, 491, 630, 770, 770n; *CV* 55, 76, 154
Bidault, Suzanne b. 1904. Formerly (1944-45) Deputy Director of Foreign Minister's Bureau, France. Wife of Georges Bidault. 284, 284n, 311, 484–485, 488; *CV* 76
Bi-national State, *see under* Palestine problem, proposed solutions
Biran, Avraham, *see* Bergman (Biran), Avraham
"Black Saturday" (29 June 1946) 81
Black Sea 14
Blanco, Andres E. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Venezuela. 555, 555n; *CV* 119
Bloch Washington representative, Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. 285
Blockade, *see* Naval blockade
Blum, Léon b. 1872. Chairman, French Socialist Party. Formerly (1936-37, 1938, 1946-47) Prime Minister of France. Co-founder, France-Palestine Committee (1928). Member, Jewish Agency Council

(1929-31). 7, 129n, 138, 201, 203, 203n, 223n, 322, 322n, 404, 404n, 488, 488n, 491, 491n; *CV* 58, 69, 84, 97, 111, 112
Blumel, André b. 1893. President, Union Sioniste Française. Chairman, Political Committee, French Zionist Federation. President, Jewish National Fund in France. 105, 105n, 115; *CV* 55
Board of Deputies of British Jews 70, 153
Boetzelaer van Oosterhout, Baron Carel van b. 1892. Minister for Foreign Affairs, Netherlands. Head of Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 647, 647n; *CV* 130
Bogota Conference, *see* Pan-American Conference
Boisanger, Claude B. de b. 1899. Senior official, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France. Expert on Palestine affairs. Alternate Representative, French Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 362–364, 491, 583, 631
Boissier, Jacques b. 1910. Colonial administrator, France. Attached to Foreign Minister's Bureau. 139
Bolivia
  Delegation to U.N. 555
Bombay 446n
Bonné, Alfred b. 1899. Director, Jewish Agency Economic Research Institute, Jerusalem. Liaison officer for economic affairs with Advance Party of U.N. Palestine Commission, March-April 1948. 411, 411n; *CV* 99
Bonneau, Gabriel b. 1904. Director, African-Levant Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France. 18–19, 18n, 104, 115, 283, 364, 368n, 488, 583, 631, 741n; *CV* 40, 90
Bonnefous, Edouard b. 1907. Member (for Union Democratique et Socialiste de la Résistance), National Assembly, France. Chairman, Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee, from January 1948. 353–354
Bonnet, Henri b. 1888. Ambassador of France to U.S. 223, 223n, 368, 368n, 388–389, 392n; *CV* 69, 90, 96
Borders, *see under* Jewish State
Bradley, Omar N. b. 1893. Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, from February 1948. 286–287, 286n, 390–392, 309; *CV* 77
Bratislava 75n, 76; *CV* 6–7
Brazil
  Parliament 555
  Delegation to U.N. 91, 555; *CV* 9
Brewer, Sam P. *New York Times* reporter in Palestine. 226, 226n; *CV* 69
Brewster, Owen b. 1888. Member, U.S. Senate (Republican). Co-chairman, American Christian Palestine Committee. 131–133, 131n, 215; *CV* 59
Brindisi 159
British army in Palestine 35, 36, 72, 79–80, 90, 95, 117–118, 122, 151, 152, 184, 229, 233, 236, 239, 246, 246n, 307, 307n, 332, 371n, 374, 376, 376n, 377n, 413, 414, 415, 422, 434, 446, 450, 450n, 460, 461, 462, 478n, 499, 499n, 509, 515, 526n, 530n, 560, 573, 573n, 587, 624, 648, 649, 656–657, 662, 666edn, 674n–675n, 676, 688–689, 688n, 703, 704, 718, 718n, 721, 730, 732, 740–741, 742, 745, 755–757, 755n, 783, 790, 790n, 792, 793; *CV* 6, 21, 25, 27, 30, 44, 73, 77, 81, 91, 92, 99, 113, 122, 134, 137, 146, 152
  Royal Air Force 689, 703, 719
  See also British security forces in Palestine
British Broadcasting Corporation (B.B.C.) 36, 100
British Central Fund 153

British Commonwealth of Nations 39, 160
British security forces in Palestine 114–115, 149, 150, 151, 152, 168–169, 170, 182, 198, 198n, 204, 206, 210, 213, 214, 241, 346, 368, 375, 376, 392, 412, 413n, 423, 426, 428n, 450n–451n, 451, 521, 567, 686, 687, 719; *CV* 8, 14, 51, 63, 71, 99, 101, 105, 116
See also British Army in Palestine; Palestine Police
Brodetsky, Selig b. 1888. Member, Jewish Agency Executive, London. President, Board of Deputies of British Jews. Professor of Mathematics, Leeds University. 70, 70n, 94–99, 189, 189n, 224–225, 317, 373, 499–501, 499n, 686–688, 714–718; *CV* 51, 52, 65, 91, 113
Bronx (New York) 469n; *CV* 108
Brotman, Adolph G. b. 1896. Secretary, Board of Deputies of British Jews. 153, 153n; *CV* 60
Broustrat, Vincent b. 1897. Secretary-General, French Delegation to U.N. General Assembly. Director, Secretariat of Conferences, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 362
Brown, Montague b. 1900. Principal Assistant Secretary (Finance), Government of Palestine. 525, 525n; *CV* 115
Brussels 67, 69, 115, 416, 497–499, 681
Bteihah 739, 729n; *CV* 150
Buenos Aires 8, 67
Bulgaria 78, 78n, 329–331, 332, 332n; *CV* 51, 80, 84
Government 329–330
Nazi regime in 330
Bunche, Ralph J. b. 1904. Top Ranking Director, Division of Trusteeship, U.N. Secretariat. Principal Secretary, U.N. Palestine Commission. 155, 155n, 163 edn, 188, 359n, 434n, 492, 527, 531–535, 537–540, 574, 584; *CV* 61, 62, 75, 102
Burgas (Bulgaria) 78n, 114n; *CV* 51, 56
Buset, Max b. 1895. Chairman, Belgian Socialist Party. 338, 338n, 387, 387n, 404, 416, 418, 497–499; *CV* 86, 95
Busson, René Director-General, Bank of Syria and Lebanon, Paris. 105
Bustamente, José R. 556n; *CV* 120

Cadogan, Sir Alexander G. M. b. 1884. Permanent Representative of U.K. at U.N. 101, 122, 163 edn, 181, 183–184, 188, 188n, 211, 211n, 221, 257, 257n, 259, 284, 284n, 301, 315, 347, 371, 377, 410, 410n, 450–451, 450n, 454 edn, 461, 577n, 644n, 654n, 657, 792; *CV* 21, 62, 64–65, 72–73, 76, 98, 104–105, 123, 130, 132
Cairo 27, 36, 59, 90, 132, 145, 146, 189n, 262, 389, 398, 473, 581, 738, 754
Canada
Government 264
Delegation to U.N. 103, 262–265, 381 edn, 429, 548 edn, 577, 633 edn, 654n, 669, 671 edn; *CV* 74, 95, 118, 127, 132, 137
Cantoni, Raffaele b. 1896. President, Union of Italian Jewish Communities. 158
Cantonization, *see under* Palestine problem, proposed solutions
Capitulations 820
Cargo, William I. b. 1917. Senior official, Division of Dependent Area Affairs, Office of U.N. Affairs, U.S. Department of State. Adviser, U.S. Delegation to U.N. Trusteeship Council. Adviser, Delegation to Second Special Session, U.N. General Assembly. Member, drafting group of experts, Trusteeship

Council's Working Committee on Jerusalem, December 1947-January 1948. 140
Carton de Wiart, Count Henri V. b. 1869. Veteran leader of Christian-Social Party, Belgium. Member, Chamber of Representatives. Former Prime Minister (1920-21). 419
Cassin, René S. b. 1887. Vice-President, French Council of State. French Representative on U.N. Economic and Social Council's Commission on Human Rights. President, Alliance Israélite Universelle. 629
Castellanos, Daniel b. 1882. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Uruguay. 555, 555n; *CV* 119
Catling, R.C. b. 1913. Superintendent, Palestine Police. 307
Cease-fire, *see* Truce, cease-fire
Celler, Emanuel b. 1888. Member, House of Representatives, U.S. (Democrat). Member, National Council, Americans for Haganah. 193, 193n, 215; *CV* 66
Ce Matin 694
Chamoun, Camille N. b. 1900. Minister of the Interior, Lebanon. Head of Lebanese Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 9, 396, 396n; *CV* 96
Charteris, Martin b. 1913. Official, in charge of Palestine affairs, War Office, U.K. 121, 122; *CV* 10
Chauvel, Jean M.H. b. 1897. Secretary-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France. 139, 139n, 201, 284, 319, 360, 364, 502; *CV* 60
Chicago 91, 225
Chief Rabbinate of Palestine 34, 230–231, 232, 232n; *CV* 13
Chile
    Delegation to U.N. 8, 10
China 8, 463n, 769; *CV* 107
    Government 335, 769
    Delegation to U.N. 8, 9, 201, 202, 334–336, 358, 381 edn, 485, 548 edn, 565, 596, 654n, 671 edn; *CV* 38, 95, 118, 132, 137
Christians in Jerusalem 140–141, 188, 188n, 217, 217n, 424n, 441–442, 441n; *CV* 100, 103
Civil Aviation 467, 527
Civil Guard, *see* Arab Civil Guard; Jewish Civil Guard
Clayton, Iltyd N. b. 1886. Minister at British Embassy, Cairo (in charge of relations with Arab League). 126, 126n, 145, 189n, 415, 430, 431; *CV* 11, 12, 18–19, 65
Clementis, Vladimir b. 1902. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and, from 19 March 1948, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czechoslovakia. 525, 525n; *CV* 115
Clifford, Clark M. b. 1906. Special Counsel to the President of the U.S. 749n, 776, 776n; *CV* 152, 155
Coastal Plain (of Palestine) 4n, 61n, 208, 763n; *CV* 24, 37, 76, 103, 116
Coates, Captain 307
Cohen (of London) 203–204
Cohen, Benjamin V. b. 1894. Formerly (1945-47) Counsellor, Department of State, U.S. In 1919-20 he had been closely associated, as adviser to Zionists, with negotiations concerning drafting of Palestine Mandate. 294–297, 294n, 429n; *CV* 79
Coker, Charles 721n; *CV* 147
Collins, Sir Godfrey F.S. b. 1888. Commissioner, Cyprus detention camps for Jewish immigrants. 304, 304n, 446; *CV* 80
Colombia
    Delegation to U.N. 8, 9–10, 52, 52n, 358, 380edn, 383, 383n, 464–467, 548edn, 565, 632edn, 654n, 671 edn; *CV* 48, 93, 95, 118, 127, 128, 129, 132, 137

Comay, Michael S. b. 1908. Special Representative of South African Zionist Federation in Palestine. Attached to Jewish Agency Political Department. Adviser, Jewish Agency Delegation to U.N. during Second Session and Second Special Session of U.N. General Assembly. 3 edn, 3–15, 195, 546–547, 668–669, 733–736; *CV* 37

Communications, escorts and convoys 16–17, 21, 41, 60, 70, 71, 79, 84, 95, 108, 114, 117, 117n, 119–120, 120n, 169–170, 213, 240, 243, 243n, 251, 277, 385–386, 412, 435, 509, 526n, 546, 552, 559, 561, 564, 566–567, 567n, 602, 652, 677, 690, 691, 701, 703–705, 731, 733, 742, 742n, 744–745, 773; *CV* 3, 9, 10, 25, 27, 51, 71, 116, 120–121
  See also Roads

Communism, Communists 131–132, 324, 330, 332n, 355, 390, 448, 471, 486, 498, 502, 587, 755, 755n; *CV* 97
  In the Jewish Community of Palestine 216, 222, 274–276, 292, 292n, 315, 325, 340–341, 342, 478, 776; *CV* 15–16, 57
  Among immigrants of *Pan Crescent* and *Pan York* 292n, 293, 293n, 304, 304n, 327n, 427n, 452, 755; *CV* 78–79, 80, 84, 101, 105

Conciliation 465, 466, 528, 543, 546, 580; *CV* 91, 96, 107

Connelly, Matthew J. 328n; *CV* 84

Constanta (Constanza) 19 edn, 43, 113, 123; *CV* 40, 51

Constituent Assembly, *see* Jewish State, Constituent Assembly

Consular Commission, *see* Palestine Truce Commission

Consulates in Jerusalem 35, 88, 89, 672; *CV* 9
  Arab States 89, 143, 722–723, 729–730, 730–731; *CV* 9
  France 587

Consulates in Jerusalem — Continued
  Greece 652–653, 665
  Iraq 719, 719n; *CV* 146
  Soviet Bloc 87, 89; *CV* 8, 9
  U.S.A. 219n, 227–228, 251–253, 280–281, 509, 509n, 689; *CV* 68, 105, 115
  Committee of Consuls 581n; *CV* 123

Convoys, *see* Communications, escorts and convoys

Copenhagen 751–755

Costa Rica
  Delegation to U.N. 384

Council of Foreign Ministers 86n; *CV* 52

Creech Jones, Arthur b. 1891. Secretary of State for the Colonies, U.K. Member, British Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. Head of Delegation to Second Special Session. 12, 12n, 55, 55n, 56, 57, 58n, 72–73, 94–99, 101, 113, 121–122, 184–185, 212, 221, 242n, 276–277, 366, 371, 382, 382n, 429, 450, 450n–451n, 460, 511, 514n, 621, 659, 709n, 712n, 758–759, 762, 762n, 765, 770n; *CV* 10–11, 21, 28, 39, 48, 49, 70, 91, 105, 115, 144, 153, 154

Crossman, Richard H.S. b. 1907. Member of Parliament, U.K. (Labour). Formerly (1946) member, Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. 121, 121n, 225, 225n, 373, 373n; *CV* 10, 42, 69, 91

Crum, Bartley C. b. 1900. Chairman, National Council, Americans for Haganah. Member, Executive Council, American Christian Palestine Committee. Formerly (1946) member, Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. 775, 775n, 776; *CV* 155

Cuba
  Delegation to U.N. 8, 8n, 787 edn; *CV* 38

Cunningham, Sir Alan G. b. 1887. British High Commissioner for Palestine. 15–17, 26, 35, 35n, 36–37, 36n, 39, 61n, 73, 79–83, 83–85, 95–97, 116, 117, 152, 185, 228, 232n, 240–246, 412, 431, 435, 444, 444n, 450, 474, 559–561, 564, 567, 572–573, 572n, 574, 602, 621, 648n, 654, 687, 687n, 689–690, 700, 703, 704, 704n, 709 edn, 721, 721n, 732, 744–745, 745–746, 770 edn, 771–772, 772n, 783, 783n, 793–794; *CV* 3, 7–8, 9, 13, 18, 23, 27, 30, 31, 32, 41, 43, 47, 121–122, 130, 140, 143, 144, 147, 154, 155
Currency, *see* Palestine currency
Customs 5n, 467, 527, 622, 624, 676; *CV* 38
Custos Terrae Sanctae 441
Cyprus detainees and camps 14, 14n, 73, 98–99, 101, 114n, 122, 149, 157, 177–178, 304, 305–306, 315, 317–318, 317n, 347, 437, 445–446, 521, 621, 673, 691, 723, 764; *CV* 11, 19, 26, 39, 56, 80, 82
Czechoslovakia 75–76, 75n, 102n; *CV* 6–7, 53, 55, 86, 115
  Government 76, 500, 501
  Ministry of Information 78
  Ministry of Education 78
  Delegation to U.N. 669n; *CV* 17, 136
  See also under Arms and munitions; Slovakia

Dafna (Kibbutz) 738–739
Daily Express 292n; *CV* 78
Dajani, Omar al- 401
Dakar 323
Damascus 37, 325n, 739, 783; *CV* 32
Damiya Bridge 376n; *CV* 93
Dan (Kibbutz) 212, 530, 530n, 738–739; *CV* 116
Danin, Ezra b. 1903. Member of Arab Section, Jewish Agency Political Department. 44edn, 48n, 126–129, 791n; CV 11–12, 45, 46, 157
Davar 687; *CV* 140
David, Jozka b. 1884. Speaker, National Assembly, Czechoslovakia. 76, 76n
Davies, Ralph K. b. 1897. President, American Independent Oil Company. Formerly (1946) Acting Director, Oil and Gas Division, Department of the Interior, U.S. 295, 295n; *CV* 79
De Gaulle, Charles, *see* Gaulle, Charles de
Deir Muheisin 567n; *CV* 121
Deir Yasin 625–626, 625 edn, 625n, 626n, 667n, 672, 789n; *CV* 24, 25, 26, 126
Delmas, General Member, Foreign Affairs Group, M.R.P., France. 408–410
Denmark
  Government 751, 755
  Delegation to U.N. 8
Depreux, Edouard G. b. 1898. Minister of Education, France, February–April 1948. 630, 630n; *CV* 127
Desanti, Dominique 443n; *CV* 104
De Valera, Eamon b. 1882. Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Ireland, until February 1948. 413
Development projects, *see* Four-Year Plan of Resettlement and Development
Dewey, Thomas E. b. 1902. Governor, State of New York. Republican candidate for presidency, 1944, 1948. 296, 296n, 361–362; *CV* 79
Diego, Mario de b. 1908. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Panama. 557, 557n; *CV* 120
Displaced Persons (Jewish) 158–159, 178, 199, 219, 291, 324, 340, 397, 418, 427, 465–466, 465n, 517, 580, 590, 626, 651, 679–682, 724, 753; *CV* 14, 108
  See also Aden, Jewish refugees in

"Dissidents", *see* Irgun Zeva'i Le'umi; Jewish underground organizations in Palestine; Lohamei Herut Israel
Disturbances, *see* Arab Disturbances in Palestine
Dobkin, Eliahu b. 1898. Member, Jewish Agency Executive. Head of Organization Department, World Zionist Organization. Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 19, 352, 506, 793–794
Dominion status, *see under* Palestine problem, proposed solutions
Donovan , William J. b. 1883. Lawyer. Formerly (1942–45) Director, Office of Strategic Services, U.S. 267n, 295; *CV* 75
Doolittle, James H. b. 1896. Vice-President, Shell Union Oil Corporation. Formerly Lieutenant-General, U.S. Air Force. 290–291
Dori, Yaacov, *see* Dostrovsky (Dori), Yaacov
Dostrovsky (Dori), Yaacov b. 1899. Chief of Staff, Haganah. 461, 461n
Douglas, Lewis W. b. 1894. U.S. Ambassador to U.K. 43, 43n, 565; *CV* 45
Douglas, Paul H. b. 1892. Professor of Economics, University of Chicago. Member of Democratic Party. 296, 296n; *CV* 79
Drury, Charles M. b. 1912. Senior official, Economic Division, Department of External Affairs, Canada. 364n; *CV* 89
Druze 45–46; *CV* 5
Duce, James T. Vice-President, Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO). 357
Duclos, Jacques 443n; *CV* 104
Dulles, John F. b. 1888. Member, U.S. Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. Had represented the U.S. on various international bodies since the First World War. 295, 296, 309
Easterman, Alexander L. Political Secretary of World Jewish Congress in U.K. Vice-President, Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland. 238–240, 238n, 276–280, 300–305; *CV* 70
Eban, Aubrey S. (Abba) b. 1915. Member, Jewish Agency Delegation to U.N. Liaison officer with U.N. Palestine Commission. 4, 38–39, 48, 63, 63–68, 68, 68–69, 91, 105n, 115–116, 123, 124–125, 129–130, 134n, 138–139, 163 edn, 181n, 188, 195, 200–201, 283–285, 295, 295n, 317–318, 326, 326n, 336–338, 360, 369n, 382, 386–387, 403, 405, 420, 428–429, 455n, 463n, 568–571, 577, 608–621, 608n, 658–660, 699–700, 715n, 770n, 778; *CV* 9, 55, 59, 62, 63, 66, 79, 91, 95, 107, 125, 145, 154
Economic boycott 147
Economic Union between Jewish State and Arab State in Palestine 5, 5n, 10, 88n, 126n–127n, 163 edn, 198, 477, 588, 644, 743, 768, 773–774, 802, 806–809, 817–818; *CV* 38, 62, 91
  Joint Economic Board 10, 142, 226, 299–300, 622, 802, 805–806, 807–809
Economist 100, 100n; *CV* 54
Eden Hotel (Jerusalem) 154
Egged (bus company) 71
Egypt 8, 76, 126n, 146, 273–274, 314, 325, 325n, 399, 464, 511; *CV* 33, 37, 86
  Government 273, 431
  Army 437, 711, 711n, 738, 781, 782, 789–790; *CV* 145
  Delegation to U.N. 379 edn, 380 edn, 474 edn, 547 edn, 633 edn, 677 edn; *CV* 47, 93, 94, 117, 127, 139
  Anglo-Egyptian Treaty 273
Ehud, *see* Ueberall (Avriel), Ehud
Eichelberger, Clark M. b. 1896.

Director, American Association for the U.N. 288–290
Ein Fara Springs 732n
Eisenberg, Shlomo b. 1899. Secretary-General, Jewish Agency, Jerusalem. 774
Eisenhower, Dwight D. b. 1890. Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, until February 1948. 261, 261n, 267n, 309; *CV* 74, 75
Ekart, Vladimir Official, Slovak Ministry of Information. 77
Elath, Eliahu, *see* Epstein (Elath), Eliahu
Elected Assembly of the Jews of Palestine (Asefat ha-Nivharim) 266, 318, 367, 403n; *CV* 90, 97
Eliachar, Elie b. 1899. President, Council of the Sephardi Community, Jerusalem. 460
Eliahu, *see* Epstein (Elath), Eliahu
Elias, *see* Sasson, Eliahu (Elias)
Eliash, Mordecai b. 1892. Legal Adviser to General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi). Chairman, Emergency Committee of Jewish Community, Jerusalem. Adviser to Jewish Agency Delegation to U.N. 11, 20–21, 20n, 49, 49 edn, 50n, 140–142, 187n, 217n, 343n, 424n, 631, 734; *CV* 41, 46, 47, 64, 68, 100, 131
Eliav, Pinhas, *see* Lauber (Eliav), Pinhas
Eliot, George F. b. 1894. Political and military commentator, U.S. 288–290, 288n, 289n, 379; *CV* 78
Elliston, Herbert B. b. 1895. Editor, *Washington Post*. 393–394
Embargo on supply of arms to Middle East 212, 636, 673, 723, 754
By U.S. 41, 41n, 102–104, 112, 113, 113n, 122, 134, 134n, 155, 183, 191, 192n, 215, 216, 218–221, 225n, 253, 262, 288, 294, 297, 308n, 309, 326n, 341, 361, 365, 366, 368, 385–386, 386n, 396,
Embargo on supply of arms to Middle East — Continued
426, 474 edn, 519, 530, 579, 581, 590, 593, 596, 753, 761; *CV* 16, 44, 48, 59, 69, 81, 90, 95, 109
See also Arms and munitions
Emergency Committee of Newspapers' Editors in Palestine 143
Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav) of the Jewish Agency and the General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine. 194, 194n, 266, 266n, 479, 526; *CV* 66, 75
Epstein (Elath), Eliahu b. 1903. Director, Jewish Agency Office, Washington. 51–53, 51n, 58n, 123, 134–137, 138, 192–193, 192n, 193, 201, 201n, 202–203, 237, 237n, 248, 254, 280–281, 292, 292n, 293, 294–297, 295n, 298n, 325, 329–330, 337n, 342, 347, 354, 368n, 373, 373n, 385–386, 388–389, 389–392, 392n, 393–394, 394–397, 425–427, 429, 440–441, 468–469, 469–471, 474 edn–475 edn, 509–521, 528–531, 541, 541n, 558, 558n, 571, 678–680, 748–749, 757–769, 777–778; *CV* 15, 48, 65, 66, 70, 79, 80, 86, 90, 91, 96, 109, 116, 117, 120
Epstein, Judith G. b. 1895. Member, Presidium, Zionist General Council. Member, Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee, Lake Success, April-May 1948. Formerly (until November 1947) President, Hadassah, U.S. 53–54, 53n; *CV* 48
Erlander, Tage F. b. 1901. Prime Minister of Sweden. 751, 754
Ethiopia
Delegation to U.N. 8
Etzion Settlements 26, 343, 436, 437, 437n, 526, 526n, 536, 553, 553n, 740–741, 783–784, 783n, 790, 792; *CV* 4, 102–103, 116, 119, 132, 157
Europe 14, 22, 29, 60, 98, 431

European Recovery Programme, *see* Marshall Plan
Evans, Harold 709 edn; *CV* 144
Evatt, Herbert V. b. 1894. Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Australia. Head of Australian Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly, and Chairman of its Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine. 255, 255n, 580, 660, 660n; *CV* 72, 133
Exodus (immigrant ship) 14, 14n; *CV* 39
Export-Import Bank (Washington) 92–84, 93n; 94n; *CV* 53–54
Eyal, Yaacov, *see* Landau (Eyal), Yaacov
Eytan, Walter b. 1910. Senior official, Jewish Agency Political Department, and Jewish Agency spokesman. Liaison officer with Advance Party of U.N. Palestine Commission, March-April 1948. Director, Public Service College set up by the Political Department. 194–196, 227, 375n, 382, 406, 411–415, 419–421, 424, 424n, 433, 438–439, 438n, 447, 458 edn–459 edn, 477–480, 503–504, 522–524, 525, 526, 526–527, 550–551, 553n, 558, 558n, 562–563, 568, 568n, 583–586, 626, 652–653, 665, 675, 709–711, 770 edn, 772, 783, 784–785; *CV* 19, 20–21, 22–23, 32, 92, 103, 119, 120, 121, 155

Fabregat, Enrique R. b. 1898. Permanent Representative of Uruguay at U.N. Formerly (1947) member of UNSCOP. 4, 11, 555, 557, 628–629, 628n; *CV* 127
Fahy, Charles b. 1892. Alternate Representative, U.S. Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. From April 1948 represented American Zionist Emergency Council in contacts with Administration, Washington. Formerly U.S. Solicitor General (1941-45) and Legal Adviser, Department of State (1946-47). 578–579, 578n, 600–602, 603–604, 643–646, 680, 725–726, 777, 792; *CV* 123
Falastin 37
Fascism 34, 478
Fath, Mahmud, *see* Abu'l Fath, Mahmud
Fawzi, Mahmud b. 1900. Minister Counsellor, Egyptian Embassy, Washington. Permanent Representative at U.N. 380 edn, 656, 677 edn; *CV* 94, 139
Faysal ibn Abd al-Aziz 677 edn; *CV* 139
Federal Council of Churches of Christ (U.S.A.) 642n; *CV* 130
Federation, *see under* Palestine problem, proposed solutions
Federspiel, Per T. b. 1905. Member of Parliament (Liberal-Democratic Party), Denmark. Member, Danish Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly, and Rapporteur of its First (Political and Security) Committee during first part of Session. Member, U.N. Palestine Commission, December 1947–May 1948. 163edn, 343, 359, 359n, 381, 382, 753; *CV* 62, 88
Ferdman, David 387n, 416, 419; *CV* 95
Financial resources 14, 42–43, 43n, 189, 197, 215, 225, 248; *CV* 44–45
Fischer, Maurice b. 1903. Political Secretary and acting director, Jewish Agency Office, Paris. 18, 68, 74, 104–105, 115, 115n, 129, 129n, 138, 139, 189n, 200–201, 202–203, 203n, 223, 223n, 249–250, 283–285, 283n, 311, 311n, 319–320, 322–323, 331, 336–338, 353–354, 359–361, 361n, 362–365, 362n, 368, 368n, 386, 387, 392n, 398n, 403–405, 405n, 407, 408n, 424, 442–443, 442n, 484–485, 486–487, 487–488, 491, 501–502, 502n, 549–550, 549n, 550n, 559, 568–571, 583, 583n, 629–631, 647,

647–648, 660, 694, 699–700, 713n, 741, 741n, 770, 770n; *CV* 58, 65, 66, 67, 69, 76, 82, 86, 89, 90, 96, 97, 103, 112, 114, 118, 150, 154
Fisher (Ariel), Joseph b. 1893. Secretary-General, Union Sioniste Française. Secretary-General, Jewish National Fund in France. 130, 130n; *CV* 58
Fishman (Maimon), Judah Leib b. 1875. Vice-Chairman, Jewish Agency Executive, and Head of Department for Artisans and Small Trade. Member, National Administration, April-May 1948. 352, 444n, 506, 675n, 783–784; *CV* 137
Fitzgerald, Sir William 49, 49n; *CV* 47
Fitzgerald Scheme 49, 49n; *CV* 47
Fletcher-Cooke, John 709 edn, 720 n; *CV* 144, 147
Florida 286
Flynn, Edward J. Democratic Party leader, New York. 296, 296 n; *CV* 79
Foley, T.J. Assistant Superintendent, Palestine Police. 34, 34n; *CV* 43
Food supplies for Palestine 14, 15–16, 16n, 122, 199, 429, 522, 576, 622, 622n; *CV* 3, 125–126
Forrestal, James b. 1892. Secretary of Defence, U.S. 103, 103n, 219, 267n, 292, 297, 309, 320, 324, 329, 340–343, 355, 448; *CV* 14, 15–16, 55, 75
Four-Year Plan of Resettlement and Development 93, 93n; *CV* 53
Fox-Strangways, Vivian b. 1898. Under-Secretary, Government of Palestine. 85, 116–121, 116n, 120n, 182, 250–251, 305–307, 305n, 307n, 412–415, 444–447, 572, 602–603, 649n, 701–702, 771n; *CV* 14, 19, 51–52, 81, 131
Franc Bloc
  Syrian separation from 325, 325 n; *CV* 83
Franc Bloc — Continued
  Jewish State's association with 404–405, 405n; *CV* 97
France 7, 8, 18, 322–323, 398, 408–410, 443, 448, 478, 486, 501, 502, 508, 542, 582, 647, 659–660, 673–674; *CV* 24, 26, 83, 86, 96, 107
  Attitude towards partition 8, 18, 52, 74, 88, 115, 139, 337, 337n, 487, 487n; *CV* 86, 111
  Government 111, 129n, 249–250, 311, 360–361, 361n, 362, 368, 388–389, 392, 392n, 405n, 424, 456, 485, 487n, 488, 491, 500, 569, 577, 587, 630–631; *CV* 8, 24, 26, 58, 96, 97, 111, 113, 114
  Cabinet 7, 311, 488, 502, 502n, 630, 647; *CV* 114
  Ministry of Foreign Affairs 7, 105, 115, 138–139, 249–250, 283, 284, 284n, 311, 320, 322, 323, 331, 353, 360, 362–365, 368, 368n, 386, 404, 424, 488, 630, 631, 699, 741, 741n; *CV* 76, 150
  Delegation to U.N. 7, 7n, 9, 49 edn, 52, 69, 104–105, 115, 129, 138–139, 200–201, 202–203, 217, 283, 319–320, 322, 336–338, 358, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 368, 381 edn, 388, 392–393, 405, 407, 424, 442n, 484–485, 485n, 487, 487n, 491, 501–502, 501n, 502n, 548 edn, 565, 568–571, 569n, 575, 577, 583, 596, 631, 652, 654n, 664, 669, 669n, 671 edn, 699–700, 741, 741n, 770, 770n; *CV* 38, 46, 50, 66, 86, 95, 103, 110–111, 114, 118, 121, 132, 135–136, 137, 150, 154, 156
  Embassy in Washington 337n, 392–393, 392n; *CV* 86, 96
  Consulate in Jerusalem 587
  Consulate in Tel Aviv 283, 284
  National Assembly 284, 353–354, 353n, 361, 404, 424, 443; *CV* 87
  Parties 443; R.P.F. 322;

France — Continued
M.R.P. 408–410; Socialists 443 n; *CV* 104; Communists 443, 443n; *CV* 104
Francisco, Vincente J. b. 1891. Majority Floor Leader, Senate of the Philippines. Member, U.N. Palestine Commission, December 1947-May 1948. Member, Philippine Delegation to Second Special Session, U.N. General Assembly. 163 edn, 315, 345, 345n; *CV* 62
Frangie, Hamid b. 1909. Minister of Foreign Affairs and Education, Lebanon. 308, 308n; *CV* 81
Frank, Jerome N. b. 1889. Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals for States of Connecticut, New York and Vermont. 379
Frankfurter, Felix b. 1882. Judge, Supreme Court, U.S. Played prominent role in Zionist Movement, notably after First World War. 105n, 429; *CV* 56
Frischer, Arnost b. 1887. President, Council of Czech Jewish Communities. Chairman, Coordinating Committee of Jewish Communities of Czech countries and Slovakia. 76, 76n, 77
Fuel supplies for Palestine 14, 16, 200, 290, 767, 793; *CV* 3
Fuller, William V. b. 1907. District Commissioner, Lydda District. 46, 46n; *CV* 5

Galilee 4n, 61n, 120, 184, 189n, 208, 281, 415, 437, 439, 442n, 711; *CV* 37, 65, 103
Upper Galilee 738; *CV* 116
Western Galilee 26; *CV* 4, 116
Eastern Galilee 61n; *CV* 76
Galili, Israel b. 1911. Head of Haganah Command. 46–47, 46n, 474n; *CV* 5, 137
García Granados, Jorge b. 1900. Head of Delegation of Guatemala to Second Session and Second Special Session, U.N. General Assembly. Formerly (1947) member of UNSCOP. 4, 11, 211n, 556, 668; *CV* 67
Garreau, Roger b. 1891. Representative of France on U.N. Trusteeship Council, and member of Council's Working Committee on Jerusalem. Alternate Representative, French Delegation to Second Session and Second Special Session, U.N. General Assembly. 201, 201 n, 217, 364, 364n, 699, 699n; *CV* 86, 89
Gass, Oscar b. 1914. Economic Adviser to Jewish Agency, Washington. 11, 11n, 88n, 92n, 94, 94n, 265, 294–297, 294n, 334, 361–362, 558, 571; *CV* 39, 53–54, 79
Gaston, Herbert E. 94n; *CV* 54
Gatuing, Marcel A. C. b. 1894. Member, Council of the Republic, France. Member, Foreign Affairs Group, M.R.P. 408–410
Gaulle, Charles A.J.M. de b. 1890. Leader of Free France during Second World War. Prime Minister of France, 1944-46. Founder (1947) and head of the Rassemblement du Peuple Français (R.P.F.) 559, 694
Gaury, Gerald de b. 1897. British intelligence and staff officer, until 1935. Later served as political representative and liaison officer in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Syria and Egypt. 430, 430n
Gaza 17, 27, 45n, 81, 128, 183, 415, 480
Gelber, Lionel b. 1907. Political Adviser, Jewish Agency Office, New York. 19 edn, 32, 32n, 55–57, 183, 254–257, 262–265, 288–290, 289n, 334–336, 350–352, 579–582; *CV* 40, 42, 78
Gellman, Arieh Leib (Leon) b. 1887. Member, Zionist General Council. Member, Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee, Lake Suc-

cess, April-May 1948. 726n, 747; *CV* 148
General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi) 16n, 20n, 27, 34, 61, 194n, 209, 251, 266, 267, 306, 316, 318–319, 352–353, 359, 359n, 367, 367n, 374, 421n, 424, 444, 460, 481, 493–495, 493n, 506–507, 527, 529, 567–568, 747; *CV* 41, 46, 66, 87, 90, 100, 104, 112, 151
  Executive 353n, 444n; *CV* 87, 104
General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine (Histadrut) 82n, 504; *CV* 61
  Executive Committee 21
General Zionists 318, 403n, 444n, 459–460, 507, 675n; *CV* 97, 138, 148
General Zionists—ha-Oved ha-Zioni 726n; *CV* 148
Geneva 4, 4n, 102; *CV* 37
Genoa 253
Gerchunoff, Alberto b. 1884. Jewish author and journalist, Argentina. Editor, daily *La Nación*. 554, 554n, 556; *CV* 119
Gerig, O. Benjamin b. 1894. Chief, Division of Dependent Area Affairs, Department of State, U.S. Deputy U.S. Representative, U.N. Trusteeship Council, and Chairman of Council's Working Committee on Jerusalem. 140–142, 140n, 187, 187 n; *CV* 60, 64
Gering, Bernard b. 1900. Chairman, Zionist Federation of South Africa. Member, Zionist General Council. 3 edn, 3–15; *CV* 37
German War Criminals in service of Arabs. 204, 332
Germany 14n, 177, 275, 434; *CV* 39
Gesher (Kibbutz) 701n, 711, 722, 740, 759, 781; *CV* 142
Gestetner, Sigmund b. 1896. Chairman and Managing Director, Gestetner Ltd., London. Formerly Chairman, Jewish Foundation Fund in Great Britain. 225, 225n, 310; *CV* 9
Ghosh, Dwarkanath b. 1901. Economist, Department of Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Areas, U.N. Secretariat. Member, Advance Party of U.N. Palestine Commission, March-April 1948. 480, 480n, 504, 551, 584; *CV* 110
Gilbert, Richard V. b. 1902. Formerly Economic Advisor to Administration and Director of Research, Office of Price Administration, U.S. 294–297, 294n; *CV* 79
Gilboa Mountains 648
Giles, General 290
Gilson, Etienne b. 1884. Member, Council of the Republic, France. Member, Foreign Affairs Group, M.R.P. 408–410
Ginsburg 265
Ginsburg, Charles David b. 1912. Partner, Law firm Ginsburg, Leventhal and Brown. Member, U.S. Mission, Austrian Treaty Commission, 1947. Adviser, U.S. Mission, Fifth Session of Council of Foreign Ministers, November-December 1947. 86, 86n, 294–297, 294n, 343, 775–776; *CV* 52, 151
Ginsburg, Pinhas b. 1911. Treasurer, Mosad le-Aliya (Haganah immigration organization), Geneva. 102, 102n
Gladwyn Jebb, H.M., *see* Jebb, H.M. Gladwyn
Globerman, Yehoshua 42n; *CV* 44
Glubb, John B. b. 1897. Commander of Arab Legion, Transjordan. 122, 122n, 458n, 686, 721, 759
Gluska, Zecharyahu b. 1895. Chairman, Association of Yemenite Jews

in Palestine. Member, Fourth Elected Assembly of Palestine Jews (Asefat ha-Nivharim). 460
Gold, Zeev Wolf b. 1889. Member, Jewish Agency Executive. Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 489, 506, 726, 747, 787
Goldie, Desmond Senior officer, Arab Legion, Transjordan. 721, 721n, 759; *CV* 147
Goldmann, Nahum b. 1894. Member, Jewish Agency Executive. Chairman, Executive Board, World Jewish Congress. 12, 48, 85–86, 86n, 94–99, 101, 102, 113, 113n, 121, 139, 223, 238n, 239, 249–250, 281–282, 283, 288–290, 300–305, 336–337, 381–382, 407, 454 edn, 489, 501–502, 501n, 541, 541–544, 541n, 677n, 705n, 726, 727n, 746–747, 748, 749, 750n, 770n, 780–781, 780n, 791, 793; *CV* 10, 17–18, 52, 56, 106, 114, 117, 139, 143, 148, 152, 154, 156, 158
Goldmunz, Benjamin Romi b. 1882. Belgian diamond merchant. Active in Jewish community affairs. 419
Goldstein, Israel b. 1896. Member, Zionist General Council. Chairman, United Palestine Appeal and Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal. Acting Chairman, American Zionist Emergency Council, January-February 1948. Chairman, Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee, Lake Success, April-May 1948. 190–192, 192n, 285, 378, 726n, 747; *CV* 65, 148
Goodman, Harry A. b. 1898. Political Secretary, Agudat Israel World Organization (London). 310
Grabovsky (Argov), Meir b. 1905. Member, Executive, General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi) and Head of its Department of Municipal Affairs. Member, Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav). Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 506
Graham, Philip L. b. 1915. Publisher, *Washington Post*. 215–216
Granados, Jorge García, *see* García Granados, Jorge
Granott, Avraham, *see* Granovsky (Granott), Avraham
Granovsky (Granott), Avraham b. 1890. Chairman, Board of Directors, Jewish National Fund. Member, Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav). Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 42, 43n
Graves, Richard M. b. 1880. Chairman, Jerusalem Municipal Commission. 421–423, 421n, 432–433, 432n, 512, 567; *CV* 18, 102
Gray, William N. b. 1908. Inspector-General, Palestine Police. 27, 27n, 47, 82, 435; *CV* 5, 41
Great Britain
  Government 11–12, 14, 32, 35, 38, 41, 55, 57, 66, 70–72, 73, 97, 98, 101, 107–108, 111, 113n, 117, 123, 123n, 125, 153, 163 edn, 165, 166, 168, 176, 176n, 179n, 180–181, 184, 185, 186, 186n, 189, 191, 197, 203, 210–211, 212, 215, 234–235, 238–239, 242, 255, 256, 257n, 263, 270, 273–274, 284n, 292, 293, 293n, 300–305, 313, 314, 321, 321n, 326, 344, 346, 347, 349–350, 351, 365n, 370–371, 373, 377–378, 380 edn, 384, 396, 406 edn, 415, 429, 430–432, 454 edn, 455, 460–462, 476, 500n, 513, 533, 534, 535, 538, 544, 552, 559, 565, 572, 611, 615–616, 622, 622n, 629, 632edn, 633 edn, 635, 639, 641, 643, 644, 644n, 656, 657, 658, 669n, 686 edn, 687, 699, 709 edn, 723, 740, 741, 781, 793; *CV* 9, 39, 41, 57, 62–63, 72–73, 76, 77, 79, 82, 83, 86, 90, 91–92, 94, 98, 105, 113, 125–126, 130, 132,

Great Britain — Continued
140, 144
Cabinet 122, 350, 430, 431, 541; *CV* 18, 82
Foreign Office 8, 12, 38, 101, 116, 121, 145, 148, 211n, 222, 238–240, 276–280, 285, 303, 304, 322, 350, 373, 430, 431, 450, 541–544, 648, 653, 653n, 686–688, 780–781, 793; *CV* 10, 12, 25, 67, 132, 140
Colonial Office 12, 70, 71, 94–99, 145, 150–154, 184–185, 206, 296n, 222, 310, 313, 350, 371, 372–373, 375–378, 377n, 430, 735, 770 edn; *CV* 10, 12, 28, 51, 93, 155
Defence ministries 12
War Office 42, 71; *CV* 10
Inter-departmental Committee to supervise withdrawal from Palestine 12
Armed forces 430, 431; Field Security Section 327, 327n; *see also* British army in Palestine; British security forces in Palestine
Exchequer 88n
Delegation to U.N. 6, 38, 49edn, 69, 88n, 98, 99, 201, 210–211, 302, 313–314, 315, 334–335, 334n, 347, 381 edn, 393, 450n, 454 edn, 511, 511n, 547 edn, 548edn, 565, 615–616, 621, 621n 622, 623, 644, 644n, 654n, 657, 659, 671 edn, 699, 709 edn, 712–713, 720n, 740, 758, 762n, 770n, 793, 793n; *CV* 11, 17, 38, 46, 52, 62, 64–65, 72–73, 76, 83, 95, 98, 104–105, 117, 118, 132, 137, 144, 146
House of Commons 55, 72, 108, 203, 244, 280, 430, 461n, 513–514, 514n, 541, 688, 740; *CV* 21, 42, 44, 49, 51, 70, 76, 105, 115, 140; Debate in December 1947 33, 33n, 41–42, 58n, 70, 73, 97, 166, 212, 242, 242n;

Great Britain — Continued
CV 42, 49, 105; Debate in March 1948 450, 450n–451n, 460–462; *CV* 105
Embassy in Cairo 189n; *CV* 11, 65
Legation in Transjordan 686
Labour Party 39, 129, 138; *CV* 58
Conservative Party 430
Public opinion 431–432
Military bases in Jewish State 87; *CV* 8
Greater Syria 44edn, 126, 126n, 283, 297n–298n; *CV* 45
Greece 7, 183, 183n, 426, 448; *CV* 63, 80
Government 652–653, 665
Consulate in Jerusalem 652–653, 665
Delegation to U.N. 6, 7–8, 9, 665, 787 edn
Greenberg, Aharon Yaacov b. 1900. Member, Zionist General Council. Member, Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee, Lake Success, April-May 1948. 726n, 747; *CV* 148
Greenberg, Hayim b. 1889. Member, Jewish Agency Executive, U.S. Editor, labour movement monthly *The Jewish Frontier*. 454 edn, 489, 726, 787; *CV* 106
Grimwood, Geoffrey G. b. 1911. Assistant Secretary (Security), Government of Palestine. 250, 250n, 505, 505n; *CV* 114
Gromyko, Andrei A. b. 1909. Permanent Representative of U.S.S.R. at U.N. 24–25, 24n, 52, 65n, 136, 300, 338, 339n, 348, 380 edn, 454 edn, 548 edn, 566, 633 edn; *CV* 17, 41, 50, 86, 94, 106, 117, 128
Gross, Ernest A. b. 1906. Legal Adviser, Department of State, U.S. 600–602, 604
Gruenbaum, Yitzhak b. 1879. Vice-Chairman, Jewish Agency Execut-

ive. Head of Jewish Agency Department of Labour. Member, Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav). Member, National Administration, April-May 1948. 19, 59–60, 353, 375, 444n, 459, 506, 675n; *CV* 137
Grunberg, Carlos 557, 628–629
Guatemala
Delegation to U.N. 103, 715, 715n–716n; *CV* 67, 74, 146
Guevara, Juan G. b. 1882. Primate of Peru and Archbishop of Lima. 554, 554n, 556; *CV* 119
Gurfein, Murray b. 1907. Lawyer, U.S. Formerly Chief of Intelligence, Psychological Warfare Division, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Forces in Europe. 378
Gurney, Sir Henry L.G. b. 1898. Chief Secretary, Government of Palestine. 20–21, 27, 31, 34, 39–40, 46–47, 62n, 80–81, 116–121, 116n, 151, 154, 228–237, 232n, 505, 525, 544–546, 545n, 564, 649n, 702, 703, 703–705, 718–719, 730, 731, 742, 772n, 774, 779, 783–784; *CV* 5, 9–10, 13–14, 29, 49, 117, 131

Hacohen, David b. 1898. Member, Board of Directors, Solel Boneh construction company. Member, Haifa Municipal Council. 129, 411n; *CV* 99
Hadassah Hospital (Jerusalem) 251, 526, 560, 649
Hadassah Medical Organization 320
Hadow, Robert H. b. 1895. Counsellor, British Embassy, Washington. Adviser, British Delegation to U.N. Member, Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 6, 12
Haganah 12, 13, 16n, 21n, 31, 33, 34, 35, 35n, 37n, 42, 42n, 43n, 59, 61, 62, 70, 75, 80, 82, 84, 87–88, 96, 109, 114, 116–117, 121, 134n, 136, 149, 151, 154, 163, 170, 171–

Haganah — Continued
172, 191, 204, 207, 209, 211, 216, 218–219, 220, 221, 226, 230, 231, 232–234, 236, 241, 253, 253n, 258, 291, 306, 325, 338n, 341, 346, 348, 376, 376n, 384, 414–415, 421–422, 439, 443n, 445, 450, 461n, 478, 478n, 489, 514, 525n, 526n, 536, 545, 545n, 553–554, 553n, 582, 583, 585, 591–592, 613, 625 edn, 648, 661–662, 664, 666 edn, 672, 674n–675n, 683, 689, 689n, 708n, 711, 718, 718n, 721–722, 721n, 733, 741, 742, 747, 748, 756, 758, 759, 767, 770 edn, 779, 781; *CV* 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 26, 27, 40, 41, 43, 44, 51, 59–60, 69–70, 71, 86, 92, 103–104, 110, 115, 116, 119, 120, 126, 132, 134, 137, 138, 144, 146, 147
Command 453, 553–554, 553n, 587
Intelligence 137n; *CV* 59
Fund-raising campaign 13
Agreement with I.Z.L. 675, 675 n, 701–702; *CV* 137–138
See also Hostilities and military operations in Palestine
Hägglöf, Gunnar R. b. 1904. Permanent Representative of Sweden at U.N. 579–582
Haifa 31, 37n, 60, 61n, 120, 122, 145, 184, 208, 213, 217n, 253, 290, 304, 357–358, 415, 423, 439, 462, 492, 666edn, 667, 667 edn, 670, 672, 689, 691, 712n, 735, 756, 790; *CV* 16, 25, 26, 27, 28, 42, 59, 68, 69–70, 76, 134
Internationalization of 432
Haifa Bay 763n, 790n
Port 17, 17n, 450, 451, 521, 582, 622, 624, 666 edn, 790n; *CV* 3, 105, 134
See also Refineries (Haifa)
Haiti
Delegation to U.N. 6
Halperin, Dr. 192–193
Halprin, Rose b. 1897. Member, Jewish Agency Executive, U.S. Pre-

sident, Hadassah, U.S. 454 edn, 489, 726, 747, 773, 787; *CV* 106
Hamlin, Isadore b. 1917. Press Officer, Jewish Agency Office, Washington. 228, 228n; *CV* 70
Harbours 198, 693
See also Haifa, port; Immigration, evacuation of port for Jewish immigration
Harding, Charles L. b. 1906. Director, Socony-Vacuum. 357
Harford, James D. b. 1899. Senior official, Colonial Office, U.K. 153, 153n; *CV* 60
Harman, Avraham *see* Herman (Harman), Avraham
Harmon, Herbert R. b. 1892. U.S. (Air Force) Representative, U.N. Military Staff Committee. 286, 286n, 290–291; *CV* 77
Harriman, William Averell b. 1891. Secretary of Commerce, U.S., until April 1948. Subsequently Special Representative in Europe, Economic Cooperation Administration. 296, 296n; *CV* 79
Harry, Ralph L. b. 1917. Member, Delegation of Australia to U.N. 254–258, 263
Har Tuv 499n; *CV* 113
Hartzfeld, Avraham b. 1888. Chairman, Agricultural Centre, General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine (Histadrut). Member, Zionist General Council. 157, 157n; *CV* 61
Hashimi, Taha al- 350n; *CV* 87
Hashomer Hatzair 60, 304, 318, 507
Hatiqva Quarter (Tel Aviv) 35, 35n, 84; *CV* 43
Haykal, Hussein 27n; *CV* 42
Haykal, Yusuf b. 1907. Mayor of Jaffa. 84, 84n, 333; *CV* 52
Hebrew University, Jerusalem 251, 411n, 560, 649; *CV* 99
Hebron 128, 246, 247n, 415, 480, 756; *CV* 71, 157
Hebron Road (Jerusalem) 84
Hedtoft, Hans b. 1903. Prime Minister of Denmark. 751, 755
Henderson, Loy W. b. 1892. Director, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State, U.S. 58n, 93n, 94n, 103, 112, 134–137, 155, 324–325, 325n, 342, 394, 394–397, 482–484, 528–531, 711, 733; *CV* 15, 16, 48, 53, 54
Henshel, Harry D. b. 1890. Vice-President, Bulova Watch Company. During Second World War served as Lieutenant-Colonel, U.S. Army. 286–287, 290–292, 461
Herat (Afghanistan) 446n
Herman (Harman), Avraham b. 1914. Director, English Section, Youth and Hechalutz Department, World Zionist Organization. Responsible for English material, Jewish Agency Information Office. 226, 226n; *CV* 70
Herman, Zvi Member, Zionist General Council. Deputy Member, Jewish Agency Executive, from April 1948. Member, Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee, Lake Success, April-May 1948. 726n, 747; *CV* 148
Herzog, Chaim Vivian b. 1918. In charge of army and civil authorities (security) affairs in Authorities Section and Special Section, Jewish Agency Political Department. Liaison Officer with Advance Party of U.N. Palestine Commission, March-April 1948. 433–438, 438, 451–454, 451n, 460, 462, 473, 474, 478–479, 491–493, 492n, 505, 522–524, 524, 553n, 563–565, 583–586, 660–663, 664, 688–689, 722–723, 722n, 755–757, 778–779, 778n; *CV* 22–23, 27, 105, 112, 119, 147, 156
Herzog, Isaac Halevi b. 1888. Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Palestine.

228–237, 232n, 241, 544–546, 545n, 574; *CV* 13–14, 117
Hewitt, Henry K. b. 1887. U.S. (Navy) Representative, U.N. Military Staff Committee. 286n, 290–291; *CV* 77
Heyd, Uriel, *see* Heydt (Heyd), Uriel
Heydt (Heyd), Uriel b. 1913. On staff of Jewish Agency Office, London. 106, 106n, 125, 285, 499; *CV* 56
Hilldring, John H. b. 1895. Formerly (1946-47) Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas, U.S. Alternate Representative, U.S. Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. Appointed Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Palestine Affairs, April 1948, but subsequently declined appointment. 6, 102, 102n, 295, 706, 706n, 710, 714; *CV* 55, 143
Hillman, William (Bill) b. 1895. Associate Editor, *Collier's Magazine* and manager of its Washington bureau. 448–449, 448n; *CV* 104
Hirsch (Avner), Gershon b. 1919. Jewish Agency Press Officer and Spokesman, Jerusalem. 226–228, 226n, 375n; *CV* 69, 92
Hiss, Alger b. 1904. President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Formerly (1945-47) Director, Office of Special Political Affairs, Department of State, U.S. 296, 296n; *CV* 80
Histadrut, *see* General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine (Histadrut)
Hitler, Adolf 144, 146–147, 178, 230, 418, 531; *CV* 13
Hoda, al- 631n; *CV* 127
Hodess, Jacob b. 1885. Editor, Zionist monthly *New Judaea*, London. 203–204
Holland 677; *CV* 27
  Delegation to U.N. 8, 592
Hollander 710
Holocaust 24, 28, 160, 230, 234, 485n, 531; *CV* 111
Holon 84
Holtzman, Fanny 288
Holy places 53, 141, 163 edn, 214, 231, 434, 520, 550, 552, 607 edn, 621, 627, 633 edn, 634 edn, 638, 641, 645, 646, 651, 652, 665, 665n, 677, 688, 705, 744, 757n, 773, 786 edn, 803, 819–820; *CV* 27, 31, 62, 128, 133, 153
Hood, John D.L. b. 1904. Minister in charge of Australian Mission to U.N. President, Security Council, December 1947. Formerly (1947), member of UNSCOP. 65n, 67, 91, 115, 254, 668–669; *CV* 9, 49
Hoofien, Eliezer Siegfried b. 1881. Chairman, Board of Directors, Anglo-Palestine Bank. 265, 265n, 621–624, 624n; *CV* 74, 126
Hoover, Herbert b. 1874. Formerly (1929-33) President of U.S.A. 286, 286n; *CV* 77
Horowitz, David b. 1899. Director, Jewish Agency Economic Department. Member, Jewish Agency Delegation to U.N. Liaison Officer with U.N. Palestine Commission, January-February 1948. 4, 11, 94–99, 121–122, 126–128, 157, 188, 317–318, 352, 369n, 373, 374n, 381, 381n, 404, 622; *CV* 10–11, 73, 75, 91, 92, 97
Hostilities and military operations in Palestine (according to sequence of references). Commercial Centre in Jerusalem 21n, 34, 34n, *CV* 41, 43; Hatiqva Quarter (Tel Aviv) 35, 35n, *CV* 43; Ben Shemen convoy 70, 70n, *CV* 51; Yazur convoy 70n, *CV* 51; Commercial Centre in Jerusalem 72; Hatiqva Quarter (Tel Aviv) 80; Haganah operation in Ramle 80–81, 81n; Revivim 81; Ben Shemen convoy 82; Hebron Road (Jerusalem) 84; Ben Shemen

Hostilities and military operations in Palestine — Continued
convoy 84; Revivim 84; Commercial Centre in Jerusalem 88, 95; Negev water pipeline 114, 114n, *CV* 57; Yazur convoy 118; attack on Jewish office employees in Jerusalem 120, 120n; Haifa refineries 137, 137n, *CV* 59; Semiramis Hotel (Jerusalem) 137, 137n, 138, 138n, 155, *CV* 59; Nevatim 212; Attack on Kibbutz Dan 212; Commercial Centre in Jerusalem 299; Yazur 245, 245n, *CV* 71; Attack on Qastel 246, 246n, *CV* 71; Haganah patrol in Lebanon 253, 253n, *CV* 72; Attack on National Institutions, Jerusalem, 306–307; Ben Yehuda Street (Jerusalem) 371, 371n, 374, 374n, *CV* 91, 92; *Palestine Post* building, 374, 374n, *CV* 92; Murder of Haganah members near St. Stephen's Gate (Jerusalem) 376, 376n, *CV* 92; Ben Yehuda Street (Jerusalem) 413n, 428n, *CV* 99, 101; Etzion settlements 437, 437n, *CV* 102; Tirat Tsevi 427, 437n, *CV* 103; Attack on National Institutions, Jerusalem 452, 452n, *CV* 105; British operations against Arabs in the Har Tuv area 499, 499n, *CV* 113; Nabi Daniyal convoy 526, 526n, *CV* 116; Syrian attacks on Dan and Kefar Szold 530, 530n, *CV* 116; Nabi Daniyal convoy 536; Yehiam convoy 536; Nabi Daniyal convoy 553n, *CV* 119; Capture of Qastel 563, 563n, *CV* 120; Operation Nahshon 563n, *CV* 120; I.Z.L. attack on British military camp near Pardess Hanna 573, 573n, *CV* 122; Ben Yehuda Street (Jerusalem) 581n, *CV* 123; Deir Yasin 625edn, 625, 625n, 626n, *CV* 24, 126; Opertion Nahshon 648; Attack on Mishmar Ha'emek 648, *CV* 25; Hadassah convoy (Jerusalem) 648–650; Nabi Daniyal convoy

Hostilities and military operations in Palestine — Continued
653n, *CV* 132; Neveh Ya'aqov 656, 661; Occupation of Haifa and Tiberias 666 edn, 667n, *CV* 134–135; Attack on Jaffa 666 edn, *CV* 135; Deir Yasin 667n; Attack on Jaffa 674–675, 674n–675n, 694, *CV* 137; Shelling of Kibbutz Gesher 701n, *CV* 142; Talpiot and Meqor Hayim 701n, *CV* 142; Attack on Jaffa 703–704; Capture of Qatamon (Jerusalem) 708, 708n, *CV* 144; Shelling of Kibbutz Gesher 711; Attack on Jaffa 722, 722n, *CV* 147; Shelling of Kibbutz Gesher 722; Shelling of Jerusalem from Nabi Samwil 730; Syrian attack on Dan, Dafne and Kefar Szold 738–739; Border crossing by Lebanese army 738–739; Attack on Jaffa 740; Attack on Mishmar Ha'emek 740; Attack on Kefar Etzion 741; Lehi attack near Netanya 755–756, 755n, *CV* 152; Shelling of Kibbutz Gesher 759; Attack on Jaffa 759; Meqor Hayim and Qatamon (Jerusalem) 779; Shelling of Kibbutz Gesher 781; Capture of Etzion settlements by Arab Legion 783–784, 783n, 792, *CV* 157
See also Communications, escorts and convoys; Retaliatory operations (Jewish); Security problem in Palestine

Houdek, Vladimir b. 1912. On staff of Embassy of Czechoslovakia, Washington. Permanent Representative at U.N. from March 1948. 540–541, 540n, 541n; *CV* 117

Hula, lake 739

Hulda 564, 567n, 648; *CV* 121

Husheimi, Abadin 45–46

Husseini, Jamal al- b. 1892(?). Vice-President, Arab Higher Committee. 128, 128n, 574n, 576, 633 edn, 655, 670 edn–671 edn, 683,

693n, 695n, 721n, 729; *CV* 87, 122, 141, 147
Husseini, Haj Muhammad Amin al- The Mufti of Jerusalem. President, Arab Higher Committee. 13, 25, 44, 44n, 45, 45n, 48, 48n, 59, 59n, 60, 88, 101, 114, 114n, 121–122, 125, 128, 131, 145–147, 148, 162, 218, 230, 241, 247, 252, 274, 349, 350n, 370n, 377, 418, 432, 503, 509, 543, 574, 581, 587, 722, 750; *CV* 4–5, 6, 8, 10, 12–13, 41, 45, 46, 49, 58, 87, 91, 128, 136
Husseinis 247, 670, 731, 790; *CV* 11–12, 29
Huysmans, Camille b. 1871. Minister of Education, Belgium. Formerly (1946–47) Prime Minister. 418

Ibn Saud b. 1880. King of Saudi Arabia. 46, 101, 121, 132, 156, 161, 239, 310, 402, 430n
Ignatieff, George b. 1913. Chief Political Adviser and Permanent Director, Canadian Delegation to U.N. Alternate Representative, Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. Alternate Representative, Security Council. 262–265
Ihud (Union) Association 359, 359 n, 568; *CV* 88
Ihud Ezrahi 60, 403n, 459–460; *CV* 97
Immigration 14, 14n, 22, 23, 24, 33, 35, 41, 58n, 61–62, 77, 93n, 94n, 98–99, 101, 122, 122n, 124, 135, 153, 157, 157n, 163, 173n, 176-180, 188, 189, 199, 217–218, 217n, 219, 226, 242, 257n, 291, 292n, 293, 305–306, 317–318, 317n, 330, 340, 347, 363, 381, 392, 409, 410, 437, 443n, 445–446, 454edn, 462, 477, 505, 508, 516–517, 523, 552, 552n, 565, 569, 570, 572, 576, 576n, 577, 596, 599–600, 605n, 607 edn, 615, 618, 619–620, 627, 633 edn, 636, 648, 651, 654, 654n, 658, 672–673, 679–
Immigration — Continued
682, 690–691, 693, 696, 706–707, 706n, 716, 722–723, 724, 724n, 736, 737, 753–754, 763–764; *CV* 4, 7, 11, 17, 19, 22, 25, 26, 28, 39, 49, 51, 53, 61, 62–63, 64–65, 68, 73, 76, 78, 82, 84, 104, 105, 106, 118, 121, 122, 125, 128, 132, 143–144, 148
"Illegal" immigration 14, 19, 19n, 57–58, 57n, 78, 85–86, 89, 98, 123n, 158–159, 159n, 176–177, 179, 184, 219n, 332, 332n, 340, 516–517, 575, 769; *CV* 39, 40, 48, 56, 57, 68
Evacuation of port for Jewish immigration 12, 14, 16, 31, 33, 35, 41, 58n, 61–62, 62n, 99, 101, 122, 124, 177, 179, 179n, 184, 185, 199, 203, 217, 257, 259n, 347, 450, 450n, 451 n, 461, 462, 509, 521, 662, 798; *CV* 11, 49, 63, 72–73, 105
See also Cyprus detainees and camps; Mosad le-Aliya; *Pan Crescent* and *Pan York*
Implementation Commission, *see* United Nations Palestine Commission
India 8, 76, 777n
Government 8, 193
Delegation to U.N. 8, 411n; *CV* 98
Relations with Jewish State 411, 411n, 456, 459 edn; *CV* 98–99
Indonesian problem 8, 351, 464, 596
Inter-Asian Relations Conference (1947). 411, 411n; *CV* 99
International Court of Justice 68n, 543, 809; *CV* 50
International Emergency Food Council 16n, 122, 199
International force for Palestine, *see* United Nations international force for Palestine
International Refugee Organization 159, 651

Iran 325, 333, 333n, 342, 356, 459n; *CV* 85
Government 390
Parliament 333n; *CV* 85
Delegation to U.N. 10
Iraq 29, 45, 45n, 126n, 132n, 145n, 146, 273, 273n, 283, 314, 320n, 390, 398, 398n, 400, 417, 511, 712n; *CV* 15, 28, 75, 76
Government 273n, 390, 759; *CV* 75
Consulate in Jerusalem 719, 719n; *CV* 146
Army 45, 561, 711, 739, 759, 782, 789–790, 791; *CV* 5, 18, 33
Treaty with Great Britain (Portsmouth Treaty) 211n, 273, 273n, 278, 283–284, 390, 398, 400; *CV* 67, 75
Iraq Petroleum Company (I.P.C.) 304
Ireland
Government 413–414
Irgens, Francis b. 1902. Minister of Norway in Egypt. 473
Irgun Zeva'i Le'umi (I.Z.L.) [National Military Organization]. 16n, 59n, 60, 80, 81, 82, 116n, 135, 137n, 150, 150n, 151, 216, 216n, 241, 241n, 244, 397, 404n, 413n, 414, 445, 573n, 625 edn, 626n, 666 edn, 674–675, 674n, 685; *CV* 5–6, 7, 9, 24, 41, 59, 60, 70, 97, 99, 122, 126, 134, 137, 138
Agreement with Haganah 675, 675n, 701–702; *CV* 137–138
See also Jewish underground organizations in Palestine (I.Z.L. and Lehi)
Irrigation 4, 22
Isacson, Leo 469n; CV 108
Isdud (Ashdod) 790n
Israel, *see* Jewish State
Istanbul 133, 456; *CV* 20
Italy 158n, 448, 491; *CV* 61
Ministry of Foreign Affairs 158-159
Italy — Continued
Recognition of Jewish State 158, 195
Former colonies 159, 159n, 486; *CV* 61
Izakson, Zvi b. 1890. Chairman, Jewish Farmers' Federation of Palestine, from 1948. Leading member of Ihud Ezrahi. 460
I.Z.L., *see* Irgun Zeva'i Le'umi

Jabr, Saleh b. 1896. Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, Iraq, until January 1948. 45, 145, 145n, 398, 400; *CV* 5, 75
Jackson (Bar Yaacov), Nathan b. 1912. Leading member, Jewish Labour Party Poalei Zion in England. Political representative of General Federation of Jewish Labour (Histadrut) in Great Britain. 203–204
Jaffa 4n, 17, 27, 31, 36, 45n, 46–47, 46n, 60 120, 145, 182, 332–333, 333n, 655, 666 edn, 712n, 744, 784; *CV* 5, 28, 37, 44, 52, 85
Attack on 667n, 674–675, 674n–675n, 694, 703–704, 719, 721–722, 722n, 740, 759; *CV* 134, 137, 147
Municipality 46
Emergency Committee 784, 784n; *CV* 157
National Committee 37
Jamali, Muhammad Fadil b. 1903. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iraq, until January 1948. Member, Iraqi Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 128, 128n
James, Edwin L. b. 1890. Managing Editor, *New York Times.* 425–426
Janner, Barnett b. 1892. Chairman, Executive, Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland. Vice-President, Board of Deputies of British Jews. Member of Parliament (Labour). 154, 154n; *CV* 60
Janovsky, Yitzhak Zvi (Harry) b.

1891. Senior executive, Anglo-Palestine Bank, Jerusalem. 551
Jarblum, Marc b. 1887. President, Zionist Federation of France. President, Federation of Jewish Communities of France. Member, Zionist General Council. Director, Bureau of External Relations, Jewish Agency Office, Paris. 201, 201n, 404, 502; *CV* 66–67
Jebb, H.M. Gladwyn b. 1900. Assistant Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, U.K. Principal Adviser to British Delegation, Lake Success. 116, 116n, 334, 334n; *CV* 57, 85
Jenin 60, 128, 415
Jericho 672, 731, 740, 756, 756n, 770n; *CV* 29, 154
Jerusalem 4n, 10, 11, 11n, 21n, 22, 23, 24, 49–50, 49n, 53–54, 54n, 61n, 107, 140–142, 155, 163 edn, 179n, 204, 214, 216–217, 217n, 243, 250, 251, 252, 253, 266, 266n, 306, 319–320, 343, 343n, 348n, 360, 360n, 364, 374–375, 402, 421–423, 432–435, 434n, 438–439, 445, 453, 455, 467, 473, 492, 503, 505 509, 520–521, 523–524, 526, 526n, 546–547, 549–550, 553 553n, 559–561, 566–568, 574, 575, 581, 582, 583, 591–592, 593, 599, 600, 605, 616–617, 621, 630, 645, 646, 647–648, 650 edn, 651, 652, 654, 655–656, 655n, 660, 664, 667, 668–669, 669n, 671edn, 672, 680, 683, 683n, 687, 692, 699, 704, 708, 709n, 712, 713, 718–719, 722, 725–726, 730, 732–733, 732n, 735, 742, 744–745, 752, 756n–757n, 759, 770 edn, 771–773, 771n, 774, 778–779, 781, 783 783n, 799, 815–820; *CV* 4, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30, 31, 37, 38, 41, 43, 46, 47, 58, 59, 60, 67, 68, 75, 76, 81, 89, 91, 92, 98, 99, 105, 110, 116, 117, 119, 120, 126, 130, 131, 133, 135, 139, 141, 144, 147, 149, 153, 154
  Old City 49, 53, 120, 121, 138,
Jerusalem — Continued
  141, 150–152, 185, 214, 229–237, 232n, 234n, 240–241, 244, 244n, 246, 253, 421–422, 423, 445, 521, 545–546, 545n, 550, 552, 560, 587, 672, 683, 683n, 690, 691, 693, 694, 695, 695n, 699, 707–708, 713, 719, 732n, 744–746, 770edn, 771, 773; *CV* 10, 13–14, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 60, 71, 117, 139, 141, 147, 155
  Old City Gates: Damascus Gate 116n, 137, 137n, 229, 323n; *CV* 13, 59; Jaffa Gate 150–152, 150n, 214, 232n, 745; *CV* 60; St. Stephen's Gate 376, 376n; Zion Gate 771; *CV* 30
  Municipality 49–50, 49n, 50n, 423; *CV* 47; Jewish Municipality 743
  Jerusalem Municipal Commission 512, 567, 709 edn, 742–743; *CV* 18, 144
  Jewish Community Committee (Va'ad ha-Qehila) 251, 523
  Jerusalem Committee 742, 742n; *CV* 150
  Labour Council 251
  Jerusalem Statute 49 edn, 49n, 53, 140–142, 140n, 163 edn, 187–188, 188n, 201, 201n, 214n, 321n, 343, 343n, 345, 348, 351, 364, 410, 424, 424n, 441, 442, 549, 606 edn, 616–617, 816–820; *CV* 60, 62, 63, 64, 67–68, 83, 100, 102, 103
  Governor of international area 53, 54, 141, 142, 243, 321, 321n, 338, 345, 348, 360, 364, 421–422, 424n, 579, 646, 777n, 816; *CV* 83, 101, 156
  Legislative Council of international area 53–54, 141–142, 187–188, 188n, 217, 217n, 343, 424, 424n, 441–442, 441n; *CV* 64, 68, 100–101, 103

Jerusalem — Continued
Municipal police 415, 773, 817
Special municipal police force 214, 214n, 243, 320, 321, 338, 343, 345, 360, 364, 368, 375, 423, 434–435, 434n, 439, 473, 549, 563, 574, 574n, 575, 579, 583, 593, 605, 652, 660–661, 664, 680, 683; *CV* 31
Scandinavian force 434, 434n; *CV* 102
Special Municipal Commissioner 709 edn, 709, 720; *CV* 144
Trusteeship regime for Jerusalem 642n, 645, 646; *CV* 130
Security Zones of British Army 306, 307, 307n, 412, 435, 451, 452, 453, 779; *CV* 29, 81
Food supply 526, 546–547, 559–560, 566–568, 592, 648, 704, 725, 732n, 733; *CV* 29, 30, 31
Water supply 422, 509, 512, 550, 576, 582, 655, 683, 694, 731, 732n, 757n, 773, 778; *CV* 18, 29, 30, 32, 153
Cease-fire 432–433, 432n, 433n, 445, 526 545, 545n, 559–561, 574, 576, 581, 581n, 630, 642, 642n, 645, 646, 672, 680, 683, 693, 693n, 694, 699, 718, 720, 720n, 722, 725–726, 730–732, 742, 744–745, 756n, 757n, 758, 770 edn, 771–773, 771n, 774, 778–779, 783, 783n; *CV* 19, 23, 28–29, 30, 31–32, 123, 130, 141, 146, 152–153, 154, 155
Cease-fire in Old City 230, 232, 241, 252, 693, 695, 695n, 705, 707–708, 712, 713n, 719, 721, 721n; *CV* 13–14, 30, 139, 147, 161
See also under Consulates in Jerusalem; Fitzgerald Scheme; Roads; United Nations, Trusteeship Council, Working Committee on Jerusalem
Jewish Agency for Palestine 17n, 24, 33, 43n, 48n, 50–51, 54, 55, 57, 63, 67, 73, 82, 84, 93n, 96, 99, 101, 104, 107–109, 112, 130, 135, 153, 154, 159, 162, 163 edn, 164, 165, 171, 175, 184, 193, 194, 196–197, 205–214, 211n, 216–217, 219, 230, 231, 232, 236–237, 244–245, 250, 251, 258, 260n, 261, 264–265, 265n, 266, 266n, 287, 292n, 300, 306–307, 311, 316, 317, 318–319, 321, 321n, 326n, 334, 343, 345, 346, 348, 349, 359n, 362 368n, 375, 376, 377n, 385–386, 395, 397, 397n, 404n, 405, 411n, 413n, 415, 422, 429, 433, 442, 446, 447, 462–465, 472, 475n, 476, 477, 479, 480, 481, 485, 485n, 500, 501, 503, 504, 506, 507, 510, 517, 518, 526, 527, 529, 532, 535, 537, 539, 547 edn, 548, 549, 551–552, 552n, 557, 566, 567–568, 572, 573, 581, 593, 600, 604, 622n, 623, 625–626, 626n, 632 edn, 634 edn, 636, 638, 639–642, 655–656, 662, 681, 684, 685, 692n, 693n, 696, 700–701, 704–706, 716, 717, 720, 723, 724, 741, 746–747, 748, 750, 769, 770edn, 771n, 772, 774, 778, 781, 782, 783, 783n, 784; *CV* 5, 7, 10, 14, 24, 27–28, 31, 32, 40, 44, 45, 46, 53, 54, 58, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 73, 74, 75, 78, 81, 83, 86, 88, 90, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101–102, 106, 109, 111, 118, 119, 122, 126, 129, 139, 141, 142, 143, 146, 154–155
Executive 3, 3n, 19, 19edn, 20n, 36, 39, 43n, 59, 59n, 70, 85, 89, 122, 139, 148, 266, 293, 318, 346, 348, 352–353, 367, 367n, 374, 375, 375n, 381, 406, 412, 413n, 420–421, 421n, 435, 443, 444n, 454edn–455edn, 459, 481, 489, 493–495, 493n, 506, 508, 548, 553n, 559, 568n, 572, 600 602–603, 625 edn, 648–650, 671n, 677, 689, 696, 698, 700–701, 706n, 708, 716, 717, 727n, 742n, 743, 750, 764, 768, 769, 770edn, 773–774, 783, 784, 793–794;

Jewish Agency — Continued
CV 11, 31, 32, 37, 40, 52, 87, 90, 92, 99–100, 104, 112, 121, 137–138, 143, 149, 150, 151
Executive, American Section 3n, 20n, 43, 48, 62, 89, 122, 130, 190–192, 192n, 224, 237, 329n, 335, 373, 373n, 413n, 454 edn, 455, 462–463, 489–490, 494n, 495n, 552n, 641n, 642n, 643, 698, 726–727, 727n, 733, 746–747, 746n, 773–774, 787; *CV* 40, 65, 84, 91–92, 100, 106, 111, 112, 113, 118, 129, 130, 142, 148, 151; Latin American Department 554n, 557; *CV* 119
Political Department 3 edn, 27n, 47n, 283, 368n, 398–402, 411, 458 edn–459 edn, 522–524, 581, 772, 789–791; *CV* 20, 22, 33, 45, 71 90, 97
Delegation to U.N. 3 edn, 424n, 441, 443, 453, 454edn, 474edn–475 edn, 475–478, 484, 487, 548, 548 edn, 561, 574n, 632 edn, 633 edn, 664, 670 edn–671 edn, 770n, 782; *CV* 37, 62, 63, 64, 65, 75, 93, 94, 100, 109, 118, 122, 128–129, 134–135, 136–137, 141, 146, 147; *See also* Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee (New York)
Participation in U.N. discussions 50–51, 91, 343, 343n, 346, 350–352, 379 edn; *CV* 47, 106
Office, representatives and resident members of Executive in London 68, 87, 89, 184n, 190n, 203–204, 681n, 793n; *CV* 56, 59, 139, 158
Office and representatives in Paris 51n, 105n, 249n, 283, 311, 337, 443, 456; *CV* 48, 55, 71,
Office and representatives in Washington 43, 228n, 294–297; *CV* 70
Agricultural Settlement Department 26

Jewish Agency — Continued
Spokesman 559, 710
Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee (New York) 3, 3n, 726, 726n, 746–747; *CV* 37, 148, 151
Jewish Brigade (in World War II) 173, 207, 209
Jewish Chronicle 428–429, 428n; *CV* 101–102
Jewish Civil Guard (Mishmar Ha'am) 16, 16n, 27, 31, 34, 36, 37, 39–40, 41, 46, 61, 62n, 84–85, 85n, 247, 742n; *CV* 3, 5, 6, 41, 52, 150
Jewish Community in Palestine (Yishuv) 13, 15, 21, 36, 40, 41, 43n, 50, 63, 70, 81, 109, 119, 123n, 124, 125, 148, 149–150, 151, 164, 167, 169, 172, 211, 219, 234, 266, 275–276, 315, 318–319, 325, 340, 346, 349, 351, 354–355, 356, 359, 359n, 369, 375, 376, 396, 397, 413n, 425, 428n, 429, 437, 450–451, 462, 468, 472–473, 477, 480, 488, 493, 522, 529, 544, 553n, 557–558, 568n, 569, 581, 585, 587, 602–603, 606 edn–607 edn, 613, 626, 629, 637, 640, 651, 656, 657, 663, 679, 681, 702, 704, 706n, 727, 736, 747, 752, 753, 780, 781; *CV* 45, 99, 121, 132
Political parties 266n, 359, 359n, 420–421, 421n, 468, 532, 539; *CV* 75, 88, 100
Political orientation 100, 100n, 162, 500–501, 522, 663; *CV* 54
See also Elected Assembly of the Jews of Palestine; General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine; Jewish National Administration; Jewish National Council; Jewish National Home in Palestine
Jewish Displaced Persons, *see* Displaced Persons (Jewish)
Jewish Farmers' Federation of Palestine 359, 359n; *CV* 88

Jewish immigration into Palestine, *see* Immigration
Jewish labour movement in Palestine 275
Jewish National Administration 727n, 751, 751n, 787, 787n, 791n; *CV* 149, 151, 152, 157
Meeting on 12 May 1948 749n, 762n; *CV* 151, 153
Jewish National Council 727n, 751, 751n, 787, 787n; *CV* 148, 152, 157
Jewish National Fund 42, 43n, 411, 504; *CV* 44–45
Jewish National Home in Palestine 610, 651
See also Jewish Community in Palestine
Jewish National Institutions (Jerusalem) 452, 452n; *CV* 105
Jewish settlement in Palestine 23–24, 26, 93, 93n, 615, 618, 673; *CV* 53
Jewish Settlement Police 27, 27n, 33, 37, 70, 70n, 71, 79, 82, 84, 95, 120, 120n; *CV* 9, 10, 41, 51, 71
Jewish settlements, evacuation of 553, 553n; *CV* 119
Jewish State 4, 4n, 7n, 22, 22n, 23–24, 29, 33n, 36, 37, 40n, 44 edn, 51, 53–54, 54n, 56, 57, 60, 77, 80, 82, 87, 88n, 93n, 101, 103, 106, 107, 109, 112, 122, 125–127, 126n–127n, 132, 133, 139, 148, 150, 157, 157n, 158, 162–163, 163 edn, 172, 176, 179n, 194n, 195, 198, 201, 202, 204, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 211n, 213, 217, 219, 220, 238–239, 242n, 243–245, 252, 260, 261, 265, 266n, 268, 273, 274–276, 281, 283, 284, 285, 301, 310, 314n, 315, 316, 318–319, 320, 321, 321n, 322, 339–340, 341, 342, 346, 348, 349, 354, 357, 360, 360n, 361, 369n, 372, 381, 384, 386, 388, 391, 394, 397, 404n, 405, 408, 414, 430, 435, 437, 438, 438n, 439, 450, 451, 457–458, 459 edn, 470, 471, 477, 480, 489–490, 492, 493, 494, 494n, 495, 495n, 502,
Jewish State — Continued
507, 513, 516, 518, 521, 523–524, 529, 531, 532–535, 537, 539, 543, 548 edn, 549, 550, 552, 557, 558, 559, 562, 564, 576, 579, 582, 586, 586n, 587, 590, 592, 594, 599, 600, 603, 605, 610, 613–614, 615, 615n, 618, 619, 628, 655, 661, 662–663, 664, 666 edn, 667, 670, 671 edn, 673, 676, 678–679, 681, 682, 692, 700, 712, 714, 717, 724, 725, 726, 727, 729n, 732, 734, 734n, 735, 743, 743n, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 756, 758, 760, 761, 761n, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 774, 775–776, 775n, 777, 779, 782, 785, 788–789, 790, 791, 793, 799; *CV* 3–4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 15, 18, 20, 22–23, 26, 28, 29, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 53, 59, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 69, 75, 89, 91, 97, 103, 112, 118, 125, 134, 135, 143, 148, 149, 151, 154
Borders of 4n, 22, 24, 156, 162, 163edn, 186, 189, 199, 202, 207, 208, 211, 247, 268, 282, 284n, 292, 328, 381, 391, 397, 430, 454edn, 457, 458, 466, 477, 570, 600, 658, 713, 729n, 734, 735, 789, 799, 810–815; *CV* 17, 20, 28, 37, 44, 62, 77; *See also* Negev
Transition from Mandate to State 196–200, 242, 242n, 301, 302, 313, 314, 314n, 429, 438n, 450–451, 479–480, 479n, 495, 504, 510–514, 523, 538, 576, 579, 594, 599, 605, 613–614, 619, 621–624, 621n, 622n, 661, 668n, 678–679, 692–693, 716, 724, 743, 747, 748, 760, 773–774, 802; *CV* 76–77, 103, 110, 121, 125–126, 135
Proclamation of 707, 710, 716, 717, 724, 725, 726, 726n, 727, 727n, 734, 736, 737, 743, 746–747, 748, 749, 760, 767, 770, 775n, 776, 779, 785, 787–788, 791, 793; *CV* 155; *See also* Provi-

Jewish State — Continued
sional Government, declaration on establishment of
Recognition 461–462, 714, 767, 779; *CV* 21; by U.S.A. 462, 747, 775–776, 786edn, 788–789; *CV* 157; by Soviet Union 775, 776
Constitution 23
Constituent Assembly 23, 743, 773, 800–801
Civil service 480, 503–504
Ministry for Foreign Affairs 194–196, 196n; *CV* 66
Police 208, 435
Representation at U.N. 782
Admission to U.N. 23, 279, 454 edn, 457, 461; *CV* 106
Representation in Great Britain 781
Consular service and passports 195, 199
See also Economic Union between Jewish State and Arab State in Palestine; Provisional Council of Government; Provisional Government
Jewish Telegraphic Agency 284–285, 403
Jewish underground organizations in Palestine (I.Z.L. and Lehi) 13, 59n, 59–60, 70, 82n, 96, 116, 121, 149, 154 156, 162, 163, 230, 231, 232, 232n, 236, 346, 381, 397, 412–413, 413n, 414–415, 526, 560, 573, 573n, 587, 593, 595, 598–599, 606, 625, 653, 674, 727; *CV* 5–6, 9, 24
Activities against British 72, 88, 95, 307, 346, 413–414, 413n, 415, 596; *CV* 99
See also Irgun Zeva'i Le'umi (I.Z.L.); Lohamei Herut Israel (Lehi)
Jewish volunteers for Palestine 216, 219, 219n, 220–221, 287, 309, 366, 520, 691; *CV* 68
Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. 285–288, 288n; *CV* 77, 78
Jews
In Aden 41, 41n, 118, 153, 153n 192; *CV* 44, 60
In Afghanistan 446, 446n; *CV* 19
In Arab countries 33, 41, 132, 153–154, 179, 192–193, 362, 363, 446–447, 517, 530, 682, 753; *CV* 89
In Bulgaria 329–331
In Czechoslovakia 76; *CV* 6–7
In France 629–630
In Great Britain, *see* Anglo-Jewish Association; Board of Deputies of British Jews
In Iraq 132
In Lithuania 130, 130n; *CV* 58
In North Africa 405, 407
In Poland 275, 508; *CV* 22
In Rumania 58, 78, 113–114, 178, 275, 305
In U.S.A. 224, 275–276, 340, 342, 343, 365n, 469, 469n, 646, 706, 717, 746, 767; *CV* 15, 108; *See also* American Jewish Conference
In Yemen 153–154, 153n, 192, 447, 680; *CV* 60
See also Displaced Persons (Jewish); Holocaust; Jewish Community in Palestine
Jimenez, Enrique A. b. 1888. President of Panama. 557, 557n; *CV* 120
Johnson, Herschel V. b. 1894. Deputy Chief, U.S. Delegation to U.N. Alternate Representative, Security Council. Ambassador to Brazil, from April 1948. 6, 52, 57, 57n, 58, 65n, 396, 396n, 477, 592; *CV* 48, 50, 96
Joint Distribution Committee 153
Joint Economic Board *See under* Economic Union between Jewish State and Arab State in Palestine
Jones, Arthur Creech, *see* Creech Jones, Arthur

Jones, Charles P. b. 1906. Officer Commanding British 2nd Infantry Brigade, Palestine. 649, 649n, 718n; *CV* 131, 146
Jones, George Lewis b. 1907. First Secretary, U.S. Embassy, U.K. 43, 43n, 85, 85n, 121–122, 147–150, 160–163, 225, 225n, 310; *CV* 10, 45, 52
Jordan Valley 711
Joseph, Dov Bernard b. 1899. Chairman, Committee for Jerusalem Affairs. Chairman, Jerusalem Committee set up by Jewish Agency Executive in April 1948. Member, Zionist General Council. 117, 478, 546–547, 742n; *CV* 150
Josephthal, Giora b. 1912. Director, Absorption Branch, Jewish Agency Immigration Department. 306, 306n; *CV* 81
Josey, Alexander b. 1910. Controller of Programmes, Palestine Broadcasting Service. 444, 444n

Kabul (Afghanistan) 446n
Kagan, Rachel b. 1888. Member, Executive, General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi) and Head of its Social Welfare Department. Member, National Council, April-May 1948. Chairman, Women's International Zionist Organization (Wizo) in Palestine. 506
Kahany, Menachem b. 1898. Adviser to Jewish Agency Delegation to U.N. 258–261, 258n, 298–300; *CV* 73
Kalandia, *see* Qalandiya
Kaplan, Eliezer b. 1891. Member, Jewish Agency Executive, and Jewish Agency Treasurer. Member, Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav). Member, National Administration, April-May 1948. 11, 11n, 14, 26, 42, 43n, 92–94, 92n, 93n, 94n, 110, 157, 265, 334, 339, 352, 353, 358, 359, 367, 374–375, 381–382, 405, 405n, 406–407, 444n, 460, 479, 504, 506, 525, 536, 675n, 688, 689–691, 694, 700–701, 704, 712, 713, 718–719, 720, 721, 727n, 730, 742, 742–743, 742n, 744–745, 770 edn, 771, 772–773; *CV* 15, 17–18, 23, 26–28, 30, 31–32, 39, 44, 45, 53–54, 97, 138, 149, 150, 155
Kapsambelis, Georgios B. b. 1899. Consul-General of Greece in Jerusalem. 420, 420n; *CV* 100
Kastel, *see* Qastel
Katamon, *see* Qatamon
Katznelson (Nissan), Avraham. b. 1888. Member, Executive, General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi), and Head of its Health Department. Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 506, 732
Katz-Suchy, Juliusz b. 1912. Alternate Representative, Polish Delegation to Second Session, and Representative, Second Special Session, U.N. General Assembly. Acting Representative, Security Council, December 1947. 300
Kaukji, Fawzi, *see* Qawuqji, Fawzi
Kefar Etzion *see* Etzion Settlements
Kefar Szold 530n, 738–739; *CV* 116
Kefar Vitkin 790n
Kenya 324
Keren Hayesod, *see* Palestine Foundation Fund
Kessler, David F. b. 1906. Managing Director, *Jewish Chronicle*, London. 428–429, 428n, 629; *CV* 101
Khalidi, Hussein Fakhri al- b. 1894. Secretary, Arab Higher Committee. 17, 17n, 421, 421n, 432, 433n, 572n, 573, 625, 625n; *CV* 18, 102, 121
Khatib, Fuad al- 46
Khuri, Fares al- b. 1879. Permanent Representative of Syria at

U.N. Formerly (1944-45) Prime Minister of Syria. 65n, 359, 359n, 380 edn, 633 edn, 666 edn, 667; *CV* 50, 94, 127, 134
Khuri, Victor b. 1904. Minister of Lebanon in U.K. Member, Lebanese Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 308, 308n; *CV* 81
Khuvashi, Sa'adia, *see* Kovashi, Sa'adia
Kibbutzim 275, 478
Kidron, Mordecai Reginald, *see* Rosenberg (Kidron), Mordecai Reginald
Kilani, Rashid Ali 273
Kimche, Jon b. 1909. Managing Editor, *Tribune,* London, until 1948. 121; *CV* 10
King, William L. Mackenzie b. 1874. Prime Minister of Canada. 577, 577n; *CV* 123
King David Hotel (Jerusalem) 419, 452, 770 edn
Kinori, Theodore Moshe b. 1905. Director, Jewish Agency Department of Trade and Industry. 194
Kirchwey, Freda President, *Nation* Associates. Editor and publisher of weekly *The Nation.* 123, 123n, 297–298, 397–398, 397n; *CV* 58, 96
Kirkbride, Sir Alec S. b. 1897. Minister of U.K. in Transjordan. 731, 731n; *CV* 29
Kirkman, John M. b. 1898. Chief of Staff, British Forces in Palestine. 434, 434n; *CV* 102
Kiryat Anavim, *see* Qiryat Anavim
Klein, Julius. b. 1901. National Commander, Jewish War Veterans at the U.S.A. 285–288, 290
Klinow, Yeshayahu b. 1890. Director, Jewish Agency Information Office. In second half of 1947 was provisionally attached to Jewish Agency Office, Paris, as Political Secretary in charge of information to Eastern Europe. 51–53, 51n, 75–78, 75n, 283; *CV* 6–7, 48
Kohn, Leo (Yehuda Pinhas) b. 1894. Political Secretary, Jewish Agency, Jerusalem. 154–156, 219n, 251–253, 251n, 305–307, 307n, 318, 320, 375n, 377n, 412–415, 420, 421–423, 421n 432–433, 433n, 444–447, 444n, 505–506, 505n, 509, 509n, 512, 526, 546–547, 568, 568n, 572–573, 572n, 574, 574n, 602–603, 648–650, 650n, 689–691, 692, 692n, 702, 703–705, 729–730, 732–733, 770 edn 771–772, 771n, 772–773, 782; *CV* 18, 19, 27, 29, 30, 31–32, 61, 68, 72, 81, 92, 93, 102, 114, 121, 131, 140–141, 155
Kol, Moshe, *see* Kolodni (Kol), Moshe
Kolaroff, Vasil b. 1877. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bulgaria. 331
Kolodny (Kol), Moshe b. 1911. Deputy-Member and from April 1948 Member, Jewish Agency Executive. Head of Jewish Agency Youth Aliya Department. Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 459, 506, 675n; *CV* 137
Kook, Hillel, *see* Bergson, Peter H.
Kopecky, Václav b. 1898. Minister of Information, Czechoslovakia. 77
Korea 425
Kosloff, Israel R. b. 1921. Assistant to President, Richfield Oil Company, U.S. 354
Kovashi, Sa'adia b. 1904. Member, Executive, General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi). Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 506
Kraditor, Abraham Formerly National Commander, Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. 285
Krasnansky, Oscar Member, Zionist Central Committee, Czechoslovakia. 77
Kratochvil, Bohuslav b. 1901. Am-

bassador of Czechoslovakia to U.K. 499–501, 499n; *CV* 113
Krinizi, Abraham b. 1886. Chairman, Local Council of Ramat Gan. 61
Krug, Julius A. b. 1907. Secretary of the Interior, U.S. 295, 295n; *CV* 79
Krulevitz, Colonel Formerly officer in U.S. Marine Corps. 287
Kuneitra, *see* Quneitra
Kuo, Ping Chia b. 1908. Senior official, Department of Security Council Affairs, U.N. Secretariat. 298–299
Kurds 128, 390
Kurnub 356

Lake Success 4, 12, 52, 55, 67, 131, 135, 137, 140, 187, 196, 205, 225, 256, 284, 314, 315, 339, 347, 349, 371, 389, 390, 394, 435, 439, 447, 450, 450n, 453–454, 468, 487, 488, 492, 504, 506-507, 537-540, 551, 557, 559–561, 562, 564, 580, 584, 594, 631, 660–662, 696, 698, 717, 751, 758, 762, 775, 779
  See also United Nations
Land
  State lands 17n, 198; *CV* 3
  Land laws 763, 763n; *CV* 154
  Land Registry 16, 199; *CV* 3
  Purchase 505, 565, 607edn, 619–620, 651, 681, 682
Landau, Haim 674n; *CV* 137
Landau (Eyal), Yaacov b. 1916. On staff of Arab Section, Jewish Agency Political Department. 790
Landauer, George b. 1895. Member, Executive, General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi). Director, Jewish Agency Central Bureau for the Settlement of German Jews. Member, Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav). 506
Lange, Halvard M. b. 1902. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway. Head of Norwegian Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 751, 754–755
Langenhove, Fernand van b. 1889. Permanent Representative of Belgium at U.N. President, Security Council, January 1948. 66, 66n, 67n, 281, 281n; *CV* 50, 76
Langnas, Shaul b. 1910. Director, Jewish Agency Immigration Bureau, Warsaw. 100n, 508; *CV* 22, 54
La Paz 555
Lapie, Pierre-Olivier b. 1901. Member (Socialist), National Assembly, France. Alternate Representative, French Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. Formerly (1946-47) Secretary of State (Foreign Affairs). 353–354, 353n; *CV* 87
Latin American states 67, 382–384, 554n; *CV* 119
  Delegation to U.N. 135, 382–383, 557, 566, 787 edn; *CV* 17
Latrun 81
Lauber (Eliav), Pinhas b. 1924. On staff of Arab Section, Jewish Agency Political Department. 790; *CV* 33
Lawrence, Harry G. b. 1901. Minister of Justice, Social Welfare and Demobilization, Union of South Africa. Head of South African Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 4, 5
League of Nations 335, 583
  Permanent Mandates Commission 617
  Article 22 of the Covenant 717, 717n; *CV* 146
Leahy, William D. b. 1875. Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the U.S.A. 287, 287n; *CV* 77
Lebanon 9, 37, 45n, 90, 126n, 253n, 417, 511, 631, 738; *CV* 15, 26, 72, 83, 136, 140

Lebanon — Continued
Army 686n, 711, 738–739, 782, 789–790; *CV* 140
Delegation to U.N . 300, 396n, 671 edn; *CV* 47, 93, 137
Monetary agreement with France 320n, 322–323; *CV* 83
Lehavot Habashan 738
Lehi, *see* Lohamei Herut Israel
Lehman, Herbert H. b. 1878. Formerly (1939-42) Governor, State of New York, and (1943-46) Director-General, UNRRA. Member, National Council, Americans for Haganah. 289, 295, 725n, 748–749, 749n; *CV* 148, 151–152
Lehrs, Hugo 116n, 120
Lenahan, William J. Representative of Tapline in the Middle East. 356, 356n; *CV* 88
Leva, Marx b. 1915. Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defence, U.S. 103, 103n; *CV* 55
Levavi, Arye b. 1912. Senior official, Jewish Agency Political Department. 194, 411n, 522–524; *CV* 22–23, 99
Levenberg, Sneier (Shneur) b. 1907. Leading member of Jewish Labour Party Poalei Zion in England. Member, Zionist General Council. Editor, *Zionist Review*. Deputy-Member, Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee, Lake Success, April-May 1948. 203–204
Leventhal, Harold b. 1915. Partner, law firm, Ginsburg, Leventhal and Brown. Had formerly held various appointments in U.S. Administration. 294–297, 294n; *CV* 79
Levin, Itzhak Meir b. 1894. Leading member of Agudat Israel world organization. Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 266, 266n, 349, 747; *CV* 75
Libya 159n, 399, 400; *CV* 61
Lie, Trygve H. b. 1896. Secretary-General, U.N. 10, 10n, 25, 50–51, 56, 65n, 110, 115, 125, 250, 255, 285, 299, 321, 321n, 325, 337, 344, 347, 350, 375n, 401, 453, 467, 472–473, 510, 527, 548, 563, 565, 608n, 633 edn, 661, 664, 693, 711, 711n, 712; *CV* 15, 16–17, 27, 38, 49–50, 83, 92, 112, 125, 145, 152
Liff, Zalman, *see* Lifshitz (Liff), Zalman
Lifshitz (Liff), Zalman b. 1900. Land-surveying expert and cartographer. Adviser to Jewish Agency Delegation to U.N. during Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 339–349, 339n, 432, 432n; *CV* 15–17, 86, 102
Lima 556
Lin Mousheng b. 1904. Member, Chinese Delegation to U.N. Member, Trusteeship Council Working Committee on Jerusalem. 334–336
Linton, Ivor Joseph b. 1900. Political Secretary, Jewish Agency Office, London. Temporarily attached to Jewish Agency Office, New York, January-May 1948. 33, 33n, 38–39, 41–42, 43, 48, 68, 69–72, 72–74, 94–99, 101, 105n, 115–116, 124–125, 129–130, 147–150, 150–154, 187–190, 197n, 202–203, 204, 224–225, 312–317, 372–374, 621–624, 717–718; *CV* 42, 55–56
Lisicky, Karel b. 1893. Chairman, U.N. Palestine Commission, January-May 1948. Alternate Representative, Delegation of Czechoslovakia to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. Formerly (1947) member of UNSCOP. 54, 54n, 76, 76n, 163 edn, 164–182, 188, 196–200, 205–214, 216–217, 252, 318–319, 345–347, 360, 364, 373, 374n, 379 edn, 381, 404, 443–444, 469, 494n, 500, 506–507, 525, 540–541, 566–568, 584, 621–624, 624n, 693, 777n; *CV* 17, 48, 62, 92, 93, 112, 126

Listowel, Earl of (William Francis Hare) b. 1906. Minister of State for the Colonies, U.K., from January 1948. 686, 686n, 770 edn; *CV* 140, 155
Loans to Jewish Agency or Jewish State
From U.S. 11, 86, 92–95, 93n, 219, 265, 265n, 334; *CV* 53–54, 74; *see also* Export-Import Bank
U.N. sponsored 172, 213
Locker, Berl b. 1887. Member, Jewish Agency Executive, London. 12, 160–163, 184–185, 184n, 187–190, 203–204, 204n, 224, 225–226, 310, 312–317, 347, 372–374, 375–378, 377n, 405, 416–419, 497–499, 497n, 658–660, 681–683, 683n, 686n, 712n, 751–755, 770 edn, 781; *CV* 63, 93, 95, 113, 139, 140, 156
Lohamei Herut Israel (Lehi) [Fighters for the Freedom of Israel] 16n, 81, 123n, 156, 216, 216n, 397, 412, 413n, 414, 587, 625 edn, 755n, 757; *CV* 5–6, 9, 24, 41, 57, 68, 126, 152
See also Jewish underground organizations in Palestine (I.Z.L. and Lehi)
López, Alfonso b. 1886. Permanent Representative of Colombia at U.N. President, Security Council, April 1948. Formerly (1934-38, 1942-45) President of Colombia. 8, 9, 10, 380edn, 464–467, 465n, 548, 574–575, 574n, 576, 576n, 594, 600, 627, 627n, 632 edn, 639–642, 648n, 654n, 656–658, 690, 741; *CV* 93, 107, 122, 127, 133
Loridan, Walter M.J. b. 1909. Director-General, Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgium. 386–387, 386n, 659; *CV* 95
Lourie, Arthur b. 1903. Director, Jewish Agency Office, New York. 49n, 50–51, 50n, 51n, 123, 124–125, 130, 134, 192n, 193, 215, 225n, 248–249, 248n, 267n; 295n, 298n, 316, 320, 343n, 378, 486n, 540–541, 557, 586, 591n, 680, 709–711, 773–774, 777, 782, 791–792; *CV* 47, 58, 65, 71, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 124
Lovett, Robert A. b. 1895. Under Secretary of State, U.S. 57n, 58n, 340–341, 368–372, 368n, 373, 373n, 393–394, 509–521, 531, 591–596, 591n, 596n, 604, 604n, 605n, 643–646, 655–656, 655n, 680, 710, 714n, 725–726, 757–769, 776; *CV* 16, 48, 90, 91, 124, 125, 133, 145
Lund, Alfred R. Roscher, *see* Roscher Lund, Alfred R.
Lurie, Zvi b. 1903. Member, Executive, General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi). Member, Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav). Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 506
Luxemburg 676
Delegation to U.N. 8
Lydda Airport 4, 283n, 564, 594, 622–623, 631, 655, 676–677, 676n
Lydda District 46n, 84, 253, 415, 582; *CV* 27

Ma'ale ha-Hamisha 343
Macatee, Robert B. b. 1891. Consul-General of U.S. in Jerusalem, until March 1948. 74, 74n, 75, 89n 107n; *CV* 9, 51, 56
MacGillivray, Donald C. b. 1906. Under Secretary, Government of Palestine, until December 1947. Attached to British Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. Formerly (1947) Liaison Officer with UNSCOP. 12, 12n; *CV* 39
Mackenzie King, William L. *see* King, William L. Mackenzie
MacMillan, Gordon H.A. b. 1897. G.O.C. British Forces in Palestine. 185, 422, 422n, 431, 648–650, 649n,

688–689, 688n, 689n, 690, 722, 731, 731n, 755, 755n, 790, 790n; *CV* 18, 27, 29, 131, 152
Madrid 478
Mafraq 739, 782
Magnes, Judah Leib b. 1877. President, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Chairman, Hadassah Emergency Council in Palestine. Chairman, Ihud association for promotion of Jewish-Arab understanding. 251, 251n, 359n, 447, 568, 649n, 750n; *CV* 88, 131, 152
Magnes group 685
Maimon (Fishman), Judah Leib, *see* Fishman (Maimon), Judah Leib
Malik, Charles b. 1906. Minister of Lebanon in U.S. Representative of Lebanon at U.N. and President of 6th and 7th Sessions, U.N. Economic and Social Council. 299
Malikiya 739, 739n; *CV* 150
Mallet Secretary at British Embassy, Paris. 323
Malouf, M. 116n
Mamillah (Jerusalem) 229
Manchuria 335, 769
Mandate, *see* Palestine, British Mandate
Manshiya (Jaffa) 666 edn, 674n; *CV* 134, 137
Manson, Harold P. b. 1918. Director of Information and Public Relations, American Zionist Emergency Council. 642, 642n; *CV* 130
Mapai (Palestine Labour Party) 22, 318, 403n, 444n, 460, 507, 675n; *CV* 21, 97, 109, 138
  Faction B 60, 60n
Mapam (United Workers' Party) 60, 60n, 403n, 444n, 460, 460n, 675n, 726n; *CV* 97, 114, 138, 148
Marcus, David b. 1902. Adviser to Haganah Command, from February 1948. Formerly legal adviser, U.S. Army. 461, 461n
Marcus, Robert S Acting Director, Political Department, World Jewish Congress. 192–193, 192n; *CV* 65
Mardam, Jamil Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Syria. 105, 105n, 356n; *CV* 55, 88
Markel, Lester b. 1894. Member, Editorial Board and Sunday Editor, *New York Times*. 425–427
Maronites 417, 631
Marshall, George C. b. 1880. Secretary of State, U.S. Head of U.S. Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 6, 6n, 12, 57, 57n, 85–86, 86n, 102n, 103, 148, 215, 221, 248, 285–286, 289, 293, 295–296, 308–309, 321, 324–326, 325n, 329, 333n, 340–349, 378–379, 385–386, 386n, 388, 394, 395, 397, 448, 509–521, 525, 531, 554n, 579, 588–590, 588n, 591–596, 597, 599, 644, 695–696, 696n, 697, 698, 710, 717, 748, 749–750, 749n, 750n, 757n, 757–769; *CV* 14–16, 38, 48, 52, 85, 95, 119, 123–124, 152, 153
Marshall Plan 248, 324, 498, 498n, 580; *CV* 113
Marti, Roland 320n; *CV* 83
Martin, John M. b. 1904. Assistant Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office, U.K. Formerly (1936-37) Secretary, Palestine Royal Commission. 12, 72–74, 72n, 94–99, 121–122, 150–154, 350, 375–378, 430, 770 edn; *CV* 10, 51, 155
Martin, William M. b. 1906. Chairman and President, Export-Import Bank, Washington. 93, 93n; *CV* 53
Masaryk, Jan b. 1886. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czechoslovakia, until his death on 10 March 1948. Head of Czechoslovak Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 75–78, 75n, 102n, 500, 500n; *CV* 6, 7, 53, 55, 113
Masmiya 79
Mathieson, William A.C. b. 1916. Official, Middle East Department,

Colonial Office, U.K. 94–99, 150–154
Matthews, Herbert L. b. 1900. Chief of *New York Times* London Bureau. 427, 427n; *CV* 101
Mattison, Gordon H. b. 1915. Assistant Chief, Division of Near Eastern Affairs, Department of State, U.S. 58n, 394–397
Mayer, René b. 1895. Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs, France. 311n, 630, 630n, 770, 770n; *CV* 82, 127, 154
Mayhew, Christopher P. b. 1915. Parliamentary Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office, U.K. Alternate Representative, U.K. Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 686–688, 686n; *CV* 140
McCabe, J. 785
McClintock, Robert M. 750n; *CV* 152
McCormack, John W. 329n; *CV* 84
McDermott, Michael J. 293n; *CV* 79
McDowell, Robert 134–137
McGeagh, William R. b. 1901. Secretary for Local Government, Government of Palestine. Liaison Officer with Advance Party of U.N. Palestine Commission, March-April 1948. 564
McGrath, James Howard b. 1903. Member, U.S. Senate. Chairman, Democratic National Committee. 296, 296n, 298, 326n, 329n; *CV* 79–80, 84
McNarney, Joseph T. b. 1893. Commanding General, Air Force Matériel Command, U.S. 291–292, 291n, 309
McNaughton, Andrew, J.L. b. 1887. Permanent Representative of Canada at U.N. President, Security Council, February 1948. 262, 264–265, 336, 336n, 350–352, 350n, 669; *CV* 85, 87
McNeil, Hector b. 1910. Minister of State, Foreign Office, U.K. Member, British Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 86, 86n, 101, 121, 238–240, 238n, 276–280, 300–305, 344, 430, 541–544, 780–781, 781n, 793, 793n; *CV* 10, 11, 52, 156, 158
Me'a She'arim (Jerusalem) 649
Mediation, Mediator for Palestine 650 edn, 762n, 786edn–787edn, 787; *CV* 131, 153, 157
Medina, Raul Diez de b. 1910. Minister-Counsellor, Embassy of Bolivia, Washington. Vice-Chairman, U.N. Palestine Commission, January-May 1948. 163 edn, 345, 345n; *CV* 62
Mediterranean Sea 22, 517; *CV* 3
Meir, *see* Abdallah ibn Hussein
Meir, Golda, *see* Meyerson (Meir), Golda
Meirov (Avigur), Shaul b. 1899. Head of the Mosad le-Aliya (Haganah immigration organization), Paris, until beginning of 1948. In charge of procurement for Hananah in Europe, from March 1948. 21, 21n, 78, 78n, 525; *CV* 40, 51
Mekor Haim, *see* Meqor Hayim
Meqor Hayim (Jerusalem) 560, 701n, 779; *CV* 142
Merriam, Gordon P. b. 1899. Chief, Division of Near Eastern Affairs, Department of State, U.S. 94n, 134–137, 394–397; *CV* 54
Merz, Charles b. 1893. Editor, *New York Times*. 425–427
Mevorah, Nissim Minister of Bulbaria in U.S. 329–331
Mexico
  Delegation to U.N. 11n, 384; *CV* 38
Meyerson (Meir), Golda b. 1898. Member, Jewish Agency Executive. Head of Jewish Agency Political Department in Jerusalem. Member,

Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav). Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 19, 25, 31, 34–35, 41n, 42, 42n, 44 edn, 44–46, 49–50, 50n, 61–62, 62n, 74, 74n, 74–75, 79–83, 82n, 83–85, 85n, 92, 92n, 94n, 100, 101, 110, 116–121, 117n, 120n, 138, 143, 150–151, 154, 157, 182, 193, 194, 194n, 225, 225n, 227, 243, 246–247, 327, 327n, 337, 411, 415, 421n, 459–462, 488, 488n, 506, 525, 536, 546–547, 553, 565, 568, 568n, 574, 575, 576, 577, 583n, 600, 621, 686n, 732, 744–745, 745–746, 755–757, 770edn, 771, 772, 772–773, 778, 778n, 790, 791, 791n; *CV* 4–5, 7–10, 21, 23, 30, 31–32, 33, 44, 45, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 59, 66, 100, 111, 121, 140, 155, 156, 157

Middle East 13, 16n, 28, 29–30, 41, 65, 103, 105, 121–122, 131–133, 149 160, 161, 219, 221, 223, 248, 251, 256, 270, 271–274, 282, 283, 291, 291n, 292, 322–323, 324, 333–334, 340, 354–357, 365n, 386n, 390, 391, 402, 408–409, 411n, 416, 430, 431, 443, 448, 457–458, 460, 470, 471, 486, 487, 494, 515–516, 522, 528, 544, 587, 611, 612, 659, 668, 673–674, 733, 754, 776, 788; *CV* 24, 25, 26, 44, 71, 78, 89, 91

Middle East peace mission 505

Military experts and advisers, despatch to Palestine. 173, 180, 210, 287

  From U.S. 58n, 102–104; *CV* 48

Military observers 260

Military operations in Palestine, *see* Hostilities and military operations in Palestine

Militias of the Jewish State and of the Arab State 33, 33n, 59, 65, 97, 98, 109, 115, 124, 135–136, 137, 149, 152, 163 edn, 170–171, 172, 174, 180, 197, 200, 205–214, 209n, 211n, 223, 224, 256, 258, 260, 261, 268, 269, 272, 282, 302, 314, 314n, 315, 326, 329n, 339, 342, 345, 346, 348, 350, 365n, 366, 372, 397, 426, 435–436, 450, 451n, 455, 469, 527, 579, 618, 668n, 774, 800; *CV* 16, 17, 49, 62, 67, 82, 84, 90, 105, 135

Mintz, Benjamin b. 1903. Leading member of Poalei Agudat Israel. Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 349

Miqve Israel 84

Mishmar Ha'am, *see* Jewish Civil Guard

Mishmar Ha'emek 648, 740; *CV* 25

Mizrahi (religious Zionist movement) 318, 403n, 444n, 507, 675n; *CV* 97

  In U.S. 726; *CV* 148

Moe, Finn b. 1902. Permanent Representative of Norway at U.N. Rapporteur, First (Political and Security) Committee, Second Special Session, U.N. General Assembly. 776, 777n; *CV* 155

Mohn, Paul b. 1898. Consultative expert to Trusteeship Council's Working Committee on Jerusalem. Formerly (1947) Swedish Alternate Member, UNSCOP. 432, 432n; *CV* 102

Montefiore Quarter, *see* Yemin Moshe (Jerusalem)

Montgomery, Viscount (Bernard) 290

Moravia 76

Morgan, Eduardo b. 1902. Member, U.N. Palestine Commission, December 1947–May 1948. Formerly member of Supreme Court and Minister of Education, Panama. 163 edn, 315, 317n, 345, 345n, 557, 557n; *CV* 62, 82, 120

Morocco 405

Morrison Plan, *see* Palestine problem, proposed solutions

Mosad le-Aliya (Haganah immigration organization) 19 edn, 19n, 20n, 78n, 327; *CV* 40, 51, 55, 61

  See also under Immigration

Moscow Declaration (1943) 299
Moses, Siegfried b. 1887. Leading member of Aliya Hadasha party. Member, Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee, Lake Success, April-May 1948. 726n, 747; *CV* 148
Moshe, *see* Shertok (Sharett), Moshe
Moslem Brothers 125
Motz, Roger b. 1904. Member of Senate, Belgium. President, Belgian Liberal Party. 416
Moubarak, Ignatius Maronite Archbishop of Beirut. 631
Mountbatten, Earl (Louis) b. 1900. Governor-General of India. 777, 777n; *CV* 156
Mount Carmel 790n
Mount of Olives (Jerusalem) 560
Mount Scopus (Jerusalem) 54, 560, 649, 649n; *CV* 131
Mount Zion (Jerusalem) 694
Mufti, the, *see,* Husseini, Haj Muhammad Amin al-
Mulki, Fauwzi al, *see* Mulqi, Fawzi al-
Mulqi, Fawzi al- b. 1910. Minister of Transjordan in Egypt, until December 1947. Subsequently Minister of Foreign Affairs. 36, 656
Muñoz Meany, Enrique b. 1908. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Guatemala. 556, 556n; *CV* 120
Mussawar, Al- 402

Nabi Daniyal 526n; *CV* 116
Nabi Samwil 718, 730
Nablus 17, 27, 45n, 60, 128, 242, 242n, 415, 480, 690–91; *CV* 70
  See also under Roads
Naharayim 44edn, 721n, 789; *CV* 45, 147
Nahon, Salomone Umberto b. 1905. Jewish Agency representative in Italy. 158–159, 195, 364, 405
Najar, Emile b. 1912. Official (in charge of information in France and French-speaking countries), Jewish Agency Office, Paris. 105, 105n, 408–410, 442, 630; *CV* 55
Nathan, Robert R. b. 1908. Economic Adviser to Jewish Agency, Washington. 11, 11n, 294–297; *CV* 39
Nation 123n; *CV* 58
National Administration, *see* Jewish National Administration
National Council, *see* Jewish National Council
Nation Associates 123n; *CV* 57, 58
Naval blockade 339n, 525, 581; *CV* 86
Nazareth 592
Nazis, co-operation of Arabs with 273, 370, 370n, 478; *CV* 91
Negev 23, 26, 61, 114n, 128, 137, 196, 208, 212, 213, 281, 436–437, 439, 442n, 565, 682, 724, 752; *CV* 4, 15, 44, 76, 103
  Exclusion of part or whole from Jewish State 5, 40n, 122, 225, 339–340; *CV* 44
  Settlement in 157–158, 174
  Oil in 356–357
  Water pipeline 114n, 158n, 437; *CV* 57, 61
  Internationalization of 432
  Strategic importance and security situation in 80–81, 84, 114, 117–118, 129, 136, 158, 212, 436–437, 439, 442n, 509, 662; *CV* 103
Negrin, Juan b. 1889. Formerly (1937-39) Prime Minister, Spanish Republic. Subsequently (until 1945) Prime Minister of Republican Government in Exile. 479, 479n; *CV* 110
Nehru, Jawaharlal b. 1889. Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, India. 193, 193n; *CV* 66
Ness, Norman T. b. 1903. Director, Office of Financial and Development Policy, Department of State, U.S. 92, 93n; *CV* 53

Netanya 263, 755
Neumann, Emanuel b. 1893. President, Zionist Organization of America. Member, Jewish Agency Executive, U.S. 224, 224n, 288, 288n, 308n, 454 edn, 489, 642–643, 726, 726n, 747, 747–748, 773, 787; *CV* 77, 81, 106, 107, 148
Neustadt (Ayalon), David b. 1914. On staff of Arab Section, Jewish Agency Political Department. 790
Neuville, René b. 1899. Consul-General of France in Jerusalem. Member, Palestine Truce Commission, from April 1948. 87–89, 87n, 283, 337, 337n, 586–587, 632, 671 edn, 671–674, 676, 689–691, 731, 783, 783n; *CV* 8–9, 23, 26, 27, 29, 32, 86, 127
Nevatim 212n; *CV* 67
Neveh Ya'aqov 656, 656n, 790; *CV* 133
New Delhi 411n, 456; *CV* 20, 99
New Jersey 134n; *CV* 59
New York Daily News 216
New York Herald Tribune 110, 225n, 309, 326, 326n, 365, 365n, 366, 440, 536, 655; *CV* 89, 116
European edition 284
New York Post Home News 289n, 378n, 566n, 622; *CV* 78, 93, 120
New York Times 123, 136, 211n, 225, 225n, 226n, 304, 425–427, 425n, 427n, 566n, 642, 642n, 655, 655n; *CV* 70, 101, 120, 133
New Zealand
Delegation to U.N. 660, 668–669
Nieuwenhuys, Jean b. 1906. Consul-General of Belgium in Jerusalem. Chairman, Palestine Truce Commission, from April 1948. 89n, 626, 671 edn, 671–672, 675, 675n, 689–691, 700–701, 703, 705, 730–732, 783; *CV* 9, 26–27, 28–29, 32, 137
Niles, David K. b. 1890. Administrative Assistant to the President of the U.S.A. 325, 325n, 748, 748n; *CV* 15, 151
Nile Valley 399
Nir-Rafalkes, Nahum b. 1884. Member, Executive, General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi). Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 506
Nisot, Joseph 380 edn; *CV* 94
Nissan, Avraham, *see* Katznelson (Nissan), Avraham
Nogueira, Hamilton L. b. 1897. Member, Senate of Brazil. 555
Nora (ship) 529n; *CV* 115
Norman, Lieutenant-Colonel Intelligence officer, British Army Headquarters, Palestine. 688n, 689, 755–756, 792, 792n; *CV* 158
North Africa 7, 105, 139, 323, 364, 388–389, 398, 399–400, 405, 407, 408, 409
Novak, Jan b. 1891. Consul-General of Czechoslovakia in Jerusalem. 78; *CV* 7
Nur al-Din, Mahmud Iraqi brigadier. Appointed Commander of all Arab "regular and irregular forces for the saving of Palestine", 11 May 1948. 790, 790n

Observer 72
O'Donnell, Emmett b. 1906. Deputy Director of Public Relations, Department of the Air Force, U.S., until January 1948. Member, Joint Mexican-U.S. Defence Commission, from January 1948. 291
Ohly, John H. Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defence, U.S. 103, 103n; *CV* 55
Oil
American interests in Middle East 133, 219, 221–222, 248–249, 248n, 272, 273, 280, 291n, 292, 298, 315, 324, 329, 333, 337, 340, 354–357, 358, 365n, 402,

Oil — Continued
469–471, 486, 497, 628; *CV* 14, 71, 78, 90
American companies 402, 469–471
British interests in Middle East 304, 356
Soviet interests in Middle East 333, 333n; *CV* 85
Pipelines 280, 304, 401–402
See also Fuel supplies for Palestine ;Negev, oil in; Refineries (Haifa)
Olszewski, Josef b. 1916. Director, Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland. 100, 100n, 508; *CV* 22, 54
Operation *Hametz* 674n–675n; *CV* 137
Operation *Nahshon* 563, 563n, 567n, 592, 648; *CV* 120, 121
Organization of American States 554n; *CV* 119
Oron, Arie, *see* Stern (Oron), Arie
Oslo 751–755
Ott, Barthélémy Member, Council of the Republic, France. Member, Foreign Affairs Group, M.R.P. 408–410
Ottawa 264–265, 577, 580
ha-Oved ha-Zioni, *see* General Zionists, ha-Oved ha-Zioni

Pais, Jose Tavares 504
Paiva Leite, Cleanthe de Senior official, Division of Trusteeship, U.N. Secretariat. 317–318, 317n; *CV* 82
Pakistan 6
Palcor (news agency) 78, 78n, 424, 554, 627n, 737; *CV* 127
Palestine, British Mandate 18, 22, 71, 95, 101, 166, 203, 312, 513, 515, 562, 609, 610, 611, 616, 618, 619–620, 627, 635, 637, 644, 659, 717, 723; *CV* 7, 79
Termination of 55, 79n, 98, 101, 107, 108, 179, 179n, 184, 185, 195, 198n, 206, 209–210, 257n, 258, 269, 284n, 350, 380 edn, 406 edn, 415, 429, 450–451, 451n, 489, 490, 495, 513–514, 514n, 521, 533, 534–535, 538, 539, 552, 560, 567, 576, 588n, 595, 597, 605, 614, 619, 627, 634 edn, 635, 639, 644, 657, 658, 670n, 676, 686, 687, 688n, 704, 721, 739, 741, 743n, 745, 748, 758, 760, 762n, 767, 770n, 778, 788, 790n, 798–799; *CV* 4, 18, 30, 38, 42, 62, 63, 70, 73, 76–77, 82, 103, 105, 115, 118, 125, 126, 135, 140, 150, 154; *See also* Palestine, British withdrawal from
Early termination of 12, 92, 97, 152, 461
Postponement of termination 88, 187, 218, 237, 237n, 254, 254n, 261–262, 270, 278, 279, 315, 343, 358, 366, 371–372, 380edn 381n, 382, 392, 426, 461, 483, 528, 541, 558, 565, 587, 589–590, 611, 643, 720, 726, 728, 729, 729n, 750, 777, 782; *CV* 8, 16, 21, 24, 32, 70, 72, 94, 149
See also Jewish State, transition from Mandate to State; Palestine Government
Palestine, British withdrawal from 12–13, 15–17, 35, 41–42, 70n, 96, 99, 102, 104, 111, 113, 122, 135, 139, 156, 179n, 181n, 183–184, 185, 189n, 198n, 204, 206, 210, 212–213, 274, 308, 314, 373, 430, 434, 450n–451n, 509, 521, 522, 549, 592, 594, 623, 629, 689n, 690, 691, 722, 790n, 798; *CV* 3, 8, 10, 18, 26, 27, 51, 63, 65, 66, 105, 111
Military government 284n, 521, 790, 790n; *CV* 77
See also under Palestine, British Mandate

Palestine Broadcasting Service 730
Palestine currency 88n, 92, 122, 199, 373–374, 373n, 374n, 429, 551, 613, 622, 807; *CV* 11, 38, 91–92
See also Palestine Currency Board
Palestine Currency Board 88, 88n, 198, 622
Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod) 306
Palestine Government 12, 16, 26–27, 35, 36–37, 39–40, 41, 46, 47, 60–61, 61n, 62, 73, 74–75, 79–83, 79n, 84, 85n, 87–88, 95, 96, 105, 108–109, 110, 113, 114–115, 114n, 116–121, 122, 128, 135, 136, 138, 138n, 141, 150–152, 154, 166, 167–170, 172, 182, 185, 197, 198–200, 204, 206, 210, 214, 217, 220, 227, 240–246, 250–251, 266, 304, 305, 307, 318, 326, 326n, 332, 350, 351, 357–358, 376, 377n, 395, 412–415, 413n, 419–420, 427, 429, 435, 444–447, 450, 477, 479, 479n, 480, 484, 487, 489, 494, 495, 496, 504, 505–506, 505n, 511, 512, 514, 515, 516, 525, 545, 549, 564, 566–567, 589, 602, 613, 614, 618, 627, 633edn, 634edn, 635, 637–638, 639, 640, 641, 649, 654n, 662, 672, 679, 687, 702, 703–705, 718–719, 730, 731, 732, 743, 762, 763n, 770 edn, 771n, 772, 774, 777n, 778, 779, 783–784; *CV* 3, 6, 7–8, 9–10 13–14, 25, 27, 30, 31, 49, 51–52, 56, 57, 59, 69, 70, 75, 77, 93, 99, 114, 128, 154, 156
  Chief Secretariat 80
  Executive Council 16, 16n
  Public Information Office 118, 479
  Food Control 16, 567
  Custodian of Enemy Property 198
  Government bonds 17n, 198
  Government records 199, 242
  Local government 61
  See also British army in Palestine; British security forces in Palestine; Palestine, British Mandate; Palestine, British withdrawal from; Palestine Police
Palestine Labour Party, *see* Mapai
Palestine Police 20–21, 21n, 27, 31, 34, 34n, 35, 36, 39, 42, 43n, 46–47, 61, 63, 71–72, 79–82, 84, 85, 95, 116, 117–118, 128, 150, 197, 212–213, 229, 257n, 306, 371n, 374, 374n, 413, 420, 434, 435, 450, 560, 563, 564, 649, 666 edn; *CV* 5, 6, 41, 43, 44, 52, 91, 92, 99, 134
  Arab Village Police 415
  Supernumerary Police 84, 120n
  Supernumerary Policemen, Arab 31, 84
  See also British security forces in Palestine; Jewish Settlement Police
Palestine Post 251, 374, 374n, 701–702; *CV* 92
Palestine problem, proposed solutions
  Morrison plan 60, 60n–61n, 126, 278, 279, 298n; *CV* 11, 76
  Bevin plan 297
  Bi-national state 359n; *CV* 88
  Federal state 225–226, 281, 359, 381, 396n, 628, 658–659, 681; *CV* 17, 38, 50, 58, 96
  Cantonization 125, 125n , 308, 473; *CV* 58
  Unitary state 5n, 147, 225n, 281, 308, 676; *CV* 38, 69
  Autonomy in a unitary state 156, 431, 667n, 756n, 791; *CV* 25, 152
  Dominion status 87; *CV* 8
  Anglo-American condominium 777
  Population transfer 129, 129n
  "Vatican solution" 315, 324, 340; *CV* 14
  See also Partition of Palestine, U.N. General Assembly Resolution; Trusteeship
Palestine Royal Commission (Peel Commission) 22, 22n, 39, 39n,

588, 590, 529, 592n, 613, 617; *CV* 43, 124
Palestine Truce Commission (Consular Commission) 671–674, 671 edn, 675–677, 679, 680, 689–691, 689n, 693, 700–701, 703, 705, 706, 708, 716, 721n, 722–723, 724, 727, 727n, 728, 729–732, 734, 735, 742, 744–745, 756, 756n, 763–764, 771–773, 772n, 777n, 778, 783, 783n, 786 edn; *CV* 26, 27–28, 28–29, 31–32, 136–137, 147, 152–153, 156
See also Truce, cease-fire
Palestine White Paper (May 1939) 173, 176n, 273, 569, 580; *CV* 62–63
Palestinian Arabs 7, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21n, 25–26, 25n, 31, 33, 34, 36–37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 46–47, 48, 60, 71–72, 74–75, 79–83, 79n, 88, 93n, 96, 105, 108, 111, 116–121, 122, 123n, 125n, 128–129, 131, 132, 136, 137n, 138, 138n, 140, 143–147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 155, 162, 165–166, 167, 170, 174, 175, 179, 180, 185, 204, 208, 209, 211, 214, 215, 220, 229–234, 236, 241, 246–247, 252, 253, 260, 260n, 268, 281, 298, 307, 308, 314, 320n, 325, 325n, 327, 341, 352, 376, 377, 385, 391, 393, 395, 402, 412, 415, 420, 421, 422–423, 424n, 433, 435, 437, 437n, 439, 441, 441n, 445, 446, 448, 450, 458, 459 edn, 460, 461, 472, 478, 480, 483, 484, 492–493, 494, 494n, 499, 505–506, 507, 509, 510, 516, 517, 518, 526, 527, 528, 529, 534, 536, 542, 543, 544, 545, 545n, 546, 547edn, 548edn, 549, 552, 553, 561, 564, 565, 566, 567, 572–573, 574–575, 577, 577n, 581, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588–590, 593, 594, 596, 597, 598, 599–600, 602–603, 605, 606edn–607 edn, 609, 611–613, 614, 615, 616, 618–620, 621, 623, 625, 625edn, 632 edn, 637, 640, 645, 646, 651, 654, 655, 656, 659, 661–662, 666edn, 667–668, 670, 670 edn–671edn, 672,
Palestinian Arabs — Continued
673, 676, 677, 678–679, 681, 682, 684, 685, 687, 687n, 690, 691, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 702, 703, 704–705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 709 edn, 710, 716, 717, 718–719, 722, 725, 728–729, 730, 732, 732n, 733, 735, 737, 740, 742, 744–745, 746, 750, 752, 753, 754, 758, 762, 762n, 763n, 764, 766, 767, 771, 773, 774, 778, 779, 784, 788, 790; *CV* 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11–12, 13–14, 16, 23–24, 26, 27, 29, 31–32, 41, 43, 44, 47, 52, 53, 58, 59, 60, 64, 67, 68, 70, 71, 92, 98, 100, 110–111, 112, 117, 123, 126, 129, 132, 134–135, 136, 137, 144, 146, 152–153, 154
Opposition to Arab Higher Committee 48, 48n, 60, 128–129; *CV* 46
General strike (December 1947) 21, 21n, 31, 36, 121; *CV* 41
Flight of 60, 145, 402, 661, 665, 666 edn, 667, 670, 672, 674, 675n, 712, 727, 752, 758 760–761; *CV* 134–135, 137
Palmah 563n
Palti, George, *see* Pape (Palti), George
Pan-American Conference (Bogota, March-May 1948) 554–558, 554 n, 628n; *CV* 119, 127
Pan Crescent and *Pan York* (immigrant ships) 19–20, 19 edn, 43, 57–58, 62, 78, 78n, 89, 89n, 106, 113–114, 123, 123n, 148–149, 292n, 293, 293n, 304, 304n, 327, 327n, 332, 427, 427n, 445–446, 445n, 452, 755; *CV* 19, 40, 51, 52, 56, 57, 78, 80, 101, 105
Pandit, Vijaya L. b. 1900. Ambassador of India to U.S. Head of Indian Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly 8
Panikkar, Kavalam M. b. 1895. Prime Minister of Bikaner State, India, until 1948. Member, Delegation of India to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. Ambassa-

dor to China from April 1948. 411, 411n; *CV* 98
Pape (Palti), George b. 1912. Deputy Director, Jewish Agency Information Office, Jerusalem. 106, 106n; *CV* 56
Pardess Hanna 573, 573n; *CV* 122
Parodi, Alexandre b. 1901. Permanent Representative of France at U.N. President, Security Council, May 1948. 7, 7n, 52, 66n, 68, 68n, 138–139, 200, 201, 201n, 202n, 223, 223n, 283, 311, 322n, 337, 338n, 360n, 364, 368, 388, 392–393, 404, 404n, 405, 407, 424, 442n, 484–485, 485n, 487, 487n, 491, 501, 501n, 568–571, 577n, 583, 669n, 699, 711, 711n, 722, 722n, 738–741, 741n, 770, 770n, 777, 792n, 793; *CV* 38, 50, 67, 84, 86, 89, 97, 103, 110–111, 114, 123, 135, 147, 150, 154, 158
Parra Velasco, Antonio b. 1900. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ecuador. 556, 556n; *CV* 120
Partition of Palestine, U.N. General Assembly Resolution 3–15, 4n, 5n, 7n, 17, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27–28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 38, 39, 40, 49n, 52–56, 58, 60, 63, 64, 65n–66n, 88, 95, 97, 99, 101, 107–109, 111, 115, 117, 122, 123, 123n, 126n–127n, 139, 141, 145, 147, 148, 153, 160–161, 162, 163 edn, 170n, 175, 177, 186, 198, 201, 202–203, 204, 216, 225–226, 226n, 227, 238, 243, 250, 252, 258, 258n, 260, 265, 265n, 266, 281–282, 284n, 292, 297, 298n, 310, 316, 318, 326n, 331, 337n, 340, 341, 347, 351, 352, 353, 353n, 358, 361, 364, 367, 368n, 370, 384n, 386, 388, 389–390, 391, 392, 392n, 397–399, 403, 409, 410n, 430, 444, 450, 457, 458 edn, 462, 463, 470, 471, 484, 485, 485n, 490, 492, 494, 495, 497, 499–500, 501, 501n, 507, 508, 513, 516, 526, 531, 535, 537, 538, 543, 547edn, 548edn, 549, 555, 556,
Partition of Palestine, U.N. General Assembly Resolution — Continued 565, 569, 570, 580, 582, 583, 588, 588n, 591, 592, 595–596, 597, 600, 601, 603, 604, 605, 609, 611–613, 614, 615, 620, 621, 627, 628, 629, 630, 633edn, 634edn, 637, 643, 645, 658, 660n, 668n, 669n, 673, 676, 678, 679, 684, 697, 699, 707, 714, 715, 716, 724–725, 726, 729, 733, 734, 735–736, 743, 746, 752, 754, 761, 762n, 763, 767–768, 776, 788, 793; *CV* 3, 11, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 49, 50, 55, 63, 64, 67, 69, 73, 76, 86, 90, 95, 96, 101, 117, 124, 125, 128, 129, 130, 133, 135, 136, 149
Text of resolution 797–820
Implementation of resolution 6, 22–24, 26, 37, 41, 47, 58n, 63–69, 74, 74n, 95, 101, 104, 124–125, 127, 129, 133, 134–137, 149–150, 156, 161, 164–166, 168, 173–174, 179–180, 189, 191, 197, 199, 200, 205–214, 218–221, 225n, 242n, 244–245, 248, 251, 253, 254–257, 257n, 259, 262, 263–264, 267–276, 279, 284n, 288–289, 291n, 294, 295n, 299, 301–303, 312, 313, 314, 315, 321, 324, 325–326, 329, 329n, 335, 338, 340, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 348, 350, 355, 359, 363, 365, 365n, 366, 369, 372–373, 379 edn–381 edn, 393, 395, 397n, 401, 416–417, 419, 425, 425n, 426–427, 429, 434, 440, 443n, 448–449, 454 edn, 455, 463, 467, 468–469, 472–473, 474 edn–475 edn, 476–477, 478, 482–484, 491, 498, 501n, 503, 517–518, 529–530 , 537, 558, 575, 579, 589, 593, 618–619, 644, 644n, 647, 659, 681, 753, 765; *CV* 4, 9, 17, 48, 51, 55, 69, 70, 74, 77, 79, 80, 84, 89, 90, 94, 96, 104, 106, 109, 111, 114, 121, 130, 133, 135

Partition of Palestine, U.N. General Assembly Resolution — Continued
Partition as accomplished fact 467–468, 479, 484, 492, 503, 505, 529, 551, 558, 569–570, 584, 588–589, 613–614, 626, 669, 700, 707, 710, 715n, 716, 725, 735, 746, 751, 760, 770, 779; *CV* 145
See also Arab State in Palestine; Economic Union between Jewish State and Arab State in Palestine; Jewish State
Patterson, Robert P. b. 1891. Formerly (1945-47) Secretary of War, U.S. 286, 286n, 378–379; *CV* 77
Pays, Le 694
Pearson, Lester B. b. 1897. Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada. Alternate Representative, Canadian Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 264–265, 265n; *CV* 74
Peel Commission, *see* Palestine Royal Commission
Perlzweig, Maurice L. b. 1895. Head of Department of International Affairs, World Jewish Congress, and W.J.C. representative at U.N. 362, 362n; *CV* 89
Permanent Mandates Commission, *see under* League of Nations
Perón, Juan D. b. 1895. President of Argentina. 8, 556, 556n; *CV* 120
Peru
Delegation to U.N. 556n; *CV* 119
Petah Tiqva 12, 27, 34, 36, 61
Pezet, Ernest A. b. 1887. Member, Council of the Republic, France. Member, Foreign Affairs Group, M.R.P. 408–410
Philippines
Delegation to U.N. 6
Pike, Sumner T. b. 1894. Member, Atomic Energy Commission, U.S. 379
Pinkas, David Z. b. 1895. Member, Executive, General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi) and its Treasurer. Member, Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav). Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 506
Pinkerton, Lowell C. b. 1894. Minister of U.S. in Lebanon. Formerly (1941-46) Consul-General in Jerusalem. 523, 523n; *CV* 72
Plovdiv Fair 329
Poalei Agudat Israel 349, 403n, 421n, 444n, 481; *CV* 97
ha-Poel ha-Mizrahi 318, 403n, 444 n, 507, 657n, 726n; *CV* 138, 148
Polak, Irma Leading member of Women's International Zionist Organization (Wizo) in Palestine 77, 77n
Poland 275; *CV* 54–55
Government 100–101, 508; *CV* 22
Ministry of Foreign Affairs 508; *CV* 22
Embassy in London 87; *CV* 8
Consulate in Tel Aviv 508
Delegation to U.N. 66, 300, 669n; *CV* 136
Jewish emigration from 508; *CV* 22
Political Advisory Committee, *see* Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee
Pollock, James H. b. 1893. District Commissioner, Jerusalem District. 229, 234, 235
Porter, Paul 296
Porter, William J. b. 1914. Consul of U.S. in Jerusalem, until February 1948. 154–156, 154n, 219n, 251–253, 251n; *CV* 61, 68, 72
Postal services 198, 406 edn, 467, 527, 538, 613, 622, 623–624, 623n, 624n, 673, 679; *CV* 126
Prague 75n, 76, 102; *CV* 6–7

Press
In France 323, 630–631, 694
In Great Britain 69, 72, 100, 430, 431, 546
In Palestine 34, 143, 250–251, 389, 447, 479, 566, 567; *CV* 12, 14, 19; Arab press 12, 74
In U.S. 42, 136, 138, 215–216 219, 225, 226–228, 226n, 251, 293, 294n, 297, 309, 324, 329, 393–394, 395, 396, 470, 546, 569, 578; *CV* 69–70, 79
Price, Byron 163 edn; *CV* 62
Prisons (Palestine) 199
Propper, Karl 469n; *CV* 108
Proskauer, Joseph M. b. 1877. President, American Jewish Committee. Formerly (1923-30) Justice, Supreme Court, State of New York. 225, 225n, 655–656, 655n, 677 edn, 678n, 684–686, 698–699, 699n, 705–706, 705n, 706n, 748–749, 749n; *CV* 133, 139, 143, 151
Provisional Council of Government 33n, 56–57, 97–98, 107, 109, 112, 122, 124, 163n, 184, 195, 198, 204, 206, 207, 209, 256, 258n, 266, 266n, 267, 312 316, 318–319, 320, 321, 321n, 331, 339, 345, 346, 348–349, 352–353, 353n, 359, 359n, 367, 367n, 372, 374, 374n, 382, 403, 403n, 404, 420–421, 421n, 428, 428n, 443–444, 444n, 451, 455, 459–460, 468, 481, 489–490, 494, 494n, 495, 495n, 496, 503, 506–507, 531–535, 537–541, 568, 582, 620 668n, 751, 751n, 787, 787n, 800–802; *CV* 11, 17, 21, 62, 73, 75, 83, 87, 88, 90, 92, 97, 100, 101, 104, 112, 135
See also Jewish National Administration; Jewish National Council; Provisional Government
Provisional Government 353, 353n, 367, 403, 421, 429, 436, 438, 444n, 451, 452, 453, 459–460, 461, 481, 492, 496, 507, 533, 537, 538, 576, 594, 599, 707, 727, 734, 743, 743n,
Provisional Government — Continued 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 763, 767, 773–774, 777, 782, 787, 788–789; *CV* 21, 100, 104, 112, 138, 151, 157
Declaration on establishment of 747, 748, 782
See also Jewish National Administration; Provisional Council of Government
Provisional State Council 787n; *CV* 157
See also Provisional Council of Government
Psychological warfare 779
Public Service College, Jerusalem 196, 196n

Qalandiya 564
Qastel (Qastal) 117, 246, 246n, 563, 563n; *CV* 71, 120
Qatamon Quarter (Jerusalem) 708, 712n, 718, 718n, 719n, 744n, 771, 779; *CV* 28, 30, 144, 146
Cease-fire in 730, 731, 742, 744
Qawuqji, Fawzi Commander, Arab Army of Liberation in northern Palestine 127, 127n, 164, 189n, 242n, 247, 458edn–459edn, 648, 672, 691, 722, 740; *CV* 20, 25, 26, 65, 70
Qiryat Anavim 343
Quneitra 782

Rabinowicz (Shamir), Shlomo b. 1915. Head of Haganah mission to U.S., until January 1948. On Haganah general staff, February-May 1948. 721, 721n, 722n; *CV* 147
Raday, Haim, *see* Berman (Raday), Haim
Rafael, Gideon, *see* Ruffer (Rafael), Gideon
Rafah 790n
Railway services 198, 200, 385, 406 edn, 527, 622, 624, 696
Ramallah 69, 771
Ramat Gan 27, 36

Ramat Rahel 560
Ramle 79–81, 81n, 84, 108, 119, 253
Ramot Naftali 738–739
Rand, Ivan C. b. 1884. Justice, Supreme Court of Canada. Formerly (1947) member of UNSCOP. 4
Ras el-Ein *see* Rosh Ha'ayin
Rasmussen, Gustav b. 1895. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Denmark. Head of Danish Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 751
Red Crescent Organization 423
Red Cross 423, 709, 709 edn, 742, 743, 744n, 786 edn; *CV* 29, 30, 78, 83 144
  Delegation to Palestine 320, 320n, 744; *CV* 83
  Negotiations on truce and protection of Jerusalem 720, 720n, 730, 732–733, 732n, 744, 772, 772n, 778–779; *CV* 29, 147
  Security zones for Jerusalem 732–733, 732n; *CV* 29
Red Magen David (U.S.) 423
Red Sea 22; *CV* 3
Reedman, John N. Member, drafting group of experts, Trusteeship Council's Working Committee on Jerusalem, December 1947–January 1948. Principal Economic Adviser, U.N. Palestine Commission, January-May 1948. 621–624, 621n; *CV* 125
Rees-Williams, David R. b. 1903. Parliamentary Under Secretary for the Colonies, U.K. 153, 153n; *CV* 60
Refineries (Haifa) 137, 137n, 290, 793; *CV* 59
Rehavia (Jerusalem) 453
Rehovot 413n, 735; *CV* 99
Religious Communities Ordinance (Palestine) 318
Remez, David b. 1886. Chairman, Executive, General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi). Member, Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav). Member, National Administration, April-May 1948. 319, 353n, 367, 403, 428, 444n, 481, 493–494, 494–495, 495, 506; *CV* 87
Repetur, Berl (Dov) b. 1902. Member, Executive, General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi). Member, Haganah Command. Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 506
Reston, James B. b. 1909. Washington correspondent of *New York Times*. 425–427; 425n; *CV* 101
Retaliatory operations (Jewish) 13, 16, 30, 43n, 70, 80–81, 81n, 82, 105, 116–117, 136, 137, 137n, 138, 138n, 149, 170, 179–180, 182, 220, 227, 245, 413n, 423, 485n; *CV* 44, 59, 99, 111
Reuven, *see* Zaslani (Shiloah), Reuven
Revisionists 318, 403n, 419, 421n, 444n, 460, 481, 675n, 726n; *CV* 97, 138, 148
Revivim 81
Reynier, Jacques de Member and later Head of Delegation of International Committee of the Red Cross to Palestine. 743, 743n, 744, 778–779; *CV* 150
Riddell, R.G. Chief, U.N. Division, Department of External Affairs, Canada. 265
Ridgway, Matthew B. b. 1895. Chairman, Inter-American Defence Board. U.S. (Army) Representative, U.N. Military Staff Committee. 286n, 290–291; *CV* 77
Rifa'i, Samir b. 1899. Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Transjordan, until December 1947. 44, 44n
Rifkind, Simon H. b. 1901. District Judge, New York. Formerly (1945-46) Advisor to General Eisen-

hower on Jewish Affairs. 292, 378–379
Riftin, Yaacov b. 1907. Member, Zionist General Council. Member, Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee, Lake Success, April-May 1948. 726n, 747; *CV* 148
Rio de Janeiro 67
Rishon le-Tzion 84
Roads
Jerusalem–Bethlehem 776
Jerusalem–Hebron 773
Jerusalem–Jericho 771, 799
Jerusalem–Nablus 704, 773
Jerusalem–Ramallah 771, 773
Jerusalem–Tel Aviv and Jaffa 31, 37, 42n, 71, 84, 108, 119, 182, 182n, 213, 236, 240, 435, 521, 546, 550, 560, 563, 563n, 567, 576, 592, 672, 680, 683, 688, 690, 704, 719, 722n, 730, 732, 732n, 745, 752, 757n, 770 edn, 771, 772, 773; *CV* 25, 27, 30, 31, 32, 44, 51, 63, 71, 120, 121, 147, 153, 155
See also Communications, escorts and convoys; Security roads
Robinson, Jacob b. 1889. Jewish Agency Legal Counsel, U.S. 194n, 195–196, 248–249, 382–384, 382n, 426, 490, 557, 678–680, 743; *CV* 66, 95
Rockefeller, John D., Jr. b. 1874. President of Board, Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. 133, 133n; *CV* 59
Rokah, Israel b. 1896. Mayor of Tel Aviv. Leading member of ha-Ihud ha-Ezrahi. 46, 47, 60, 61, 459–460; *CV* 5
Roncalli, Angelo J. b. 1881. Apostolic Nuncio in France. Later Pope John XXIII. 549–550, 549n, 550n, 631; *CV* 118
Roosevelt 265
Roosevelt, Anna Eleanor b. 1884. Member, U.S. Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. Chairman, U.N. Economic and Social Council's Commission on Human Rights. Widow of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. 248, 289, 295
Roosevelt, Franklin D., Jr. b. 1914. Leading member of Americans for Democratic Action. Son of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. 102–104, 248, 267n, 292; *CV* 74, 75
Roscher Lund, Alfred R. b. 1899. Member and military expert, Advance Party of U.N. Palestine Commission, March-April 1948. Secretary, Palestine Truce Commission, from April 1948. During Second World War served with Norwegian forces in U.K. 433–438, 433n, 434n, 438–439, 451–454, 460, 462, 473, 478, 491–493, 524, 563–565, 574, 583–586, 660–663, 664, 689–691, 722, 756n, 757, 778–779, 784–785; *CV* 21, 27, 102, 152–153
Rosenberg (Kidron), Mordecai Reginald b. 1915. Senior official, Authorities Section and Special Section, Jewish Agency Political Department. 250–251, 250n; *CV* 14
Rosenman, Samuel I. b. 1896. Formerly (1932-43) Justice, Supreme Court, State of New York. Subsequently (1943-46) Special Counsel to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. 429, 440–441, 748, 749n, 750n; *CV* 152
Rosenne, Shabtai, *see* Rowson (Rosenne), Shabtai
Rosetté (Rosetti), Moshe Maurice b. 1903. Director, Information Department, Jewish Agency Office, London. Head of Political Department of Jewish Labour Party Poalei Zion in England. 647, 647n; *CV* 130
Rosh Ha'ayin (Ras el-Ein) 422, 732; *CV* 18, 115
Ross, John C. b. 1904. Deputy to U.S. Representative at Seat of U.N.

Alternate Representative, Second Special Session, U.N. General Assembly. 608–621, 608n, 684; *CV* 125
Rostow, Eugene V. b. 1913. Professor of Law, Yale University, U.S. 249
Rothschild, Baron Alain de 311n; *CV* 82
Rothschild, Baron Guy de b. 1909. Banker. Vice-President, Union Sioniste Française. 405, 405n; *CV* 97
Rowson (Rosenne), Shabtai b. 1917. On staff of Jewish Agency Office, London, until end of 1947. Member, Secretariat, Legal Council of Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav), Palestine, from January 1948. 106, 106n; *CV* 56
Ruffer (Rafael), Gideon b. 1913. Adviser to Jewish Agency Delegation to U.N. 196, 216–217, 324–327, 333–334, 354, 448–449, 482–484, 631, 713n; *CV* 14–15, 145
Rumania 19, 19 edn, 62, 89, 113, 143, 148–149, 178, 275, 304–305, 427, 443n; *CV* 12, 51, 104
  Government 19 edn, 78, 89, 178, 305, 443n; *CV* 40, 104
Rusk, Dean b. 1909. Director, Office of Special Political Affairs, Department of State, U.S., until end of January 1948. Director, Office of U.N. Affairs, Department of State, from end of January 1948. 19 edn, 32, 32n, 134–137, 394, 591–596, 591n, 596–600, 603–604, 604n, 605n, 655–656, 677 edn, 678n, 684, 699, 715n, 720n, 727n, 728–729, 729n, 734, 748–749, 749n, 757–769, 776, 777; *CV* 40, 42, 124, 125, 139, 145, 146, 148–149
Russia, *see* Soviet Union
Rutenberg, Avraham b. 1893. Director, Palestine Electric Corporation. 789, 789n
Ruz al-Yusuf 193
Sacharov (Sahar), Yehezkiel b. 1907. Director, Authorities Section and Special Section, Jewish Agency Political Department. Chief Liaison Officer with British Authorities in Palestine (Security affairs). 27, 27n, 31, 47, 114n, 306n, 327, 327n, 349n; *CV* 41, 56–57, 81, 87
Sacher, Harry b. 1881. Director, Marks and Spencer Ltd. Formerly (1927-31) Member, Executive of World Zionist Organization and Executive of Jewish Agency. 431, 431n
Sack, Leo R. b. 1889. Journalist and public relations consultant. Assisted in work of Washington Office of American Zionist Emergency Council. 131–133, 131n; *CV* 59
Sadak, Necmettin b. 1890. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Turkey. 389, 389n; *CV* 96
Safad 4, 204
Safwat, Ismail Iraqi representative on Military Committee of Arab League. In January 1948 was appointed Commander in Chief of Arab forces which were to intervene in Palestine. 790, 790n
Sahar, Yehezkiel, *see* Sacharov (Sahar), Yehezkiel
Sa'id, Nuri al- b. 1888. President, Senate of Iraq. Former Prime Minister. 101, 121, 125, 145, 145n, 398; *CV* 55
Saint Simeon Monastery (Jerusalem) 708; *CV* 144
Salame (Jaffa) 119
Samaria 183
Sandström, Emil F. b. 1886. Member, International Court of Arbitration, The Hague. Formerly Justice, Supreme Court, Sweden. Chairman of UNSCOP (1947). 8, 8n, 580, 752–753, 754; *CV* 38
San Francisco Conference (1945) 643, 643n; *CV* 130

Saphir, Joseph b. 1902. Mayor of Petah Tiqva. Chairman, ha-Ihud ha-Ezrahi. Member, Presidium, Jewish Farmers' Federation of Palestine. 60, 60n, 61, 459–460
Saraj, Hussein 756n; *CV* 153
Sarper, Selim b. 1899. Permanent Representative of Turkey at U.N. 389–392
Sasson, Eliahu (Elias) b. 1902. Director, Arab Section, Jewish Agency Political Department. 25, 25n, 27–30, 27n, 34, 44 edn, 44, 48, 59n, 90–91, 126–129, 143–147, 156–157, 186, 246–247, 308, 308n, 325n, 398n, 432, 456–458, 459 edn, 486, 522–524, 526, 536, 553–554, 553n, 666 edn, 667–668, 670, 789–791, 789n, 791n; *CV* 11–13, 19–21, 22–23, 25, 33, 41, 42, 45, 53, 97, 119, 135, 157
Satterthwaite, Joseph C. b. 1900. Deputy Director, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State, U.S. 155, 155n; *CV* 61
Saudi Arabia 45, 45n, 126n, 281; *CV* 88
  Government 221
  Delegation to U.N. 677 edn; *CV* 139
Sayre, Francis B. b. 1885. U.S. Representative, U.N. Trusteeship Council, and President of Council. Alternate Representative, U.S. Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly, and Representative, Second Special Session. 49n 343n, 441–442, 441n, 708, 721n; *CV* 47, 103, 147
Scandinavian States 751–755
  Delegations to U.N. 8
Schechtman, Joseph B. b. 1891. Leading member of Zionist Revisionist movement. Member, Zionist General Council. Member, Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee, Lake Success, April-May 1948. 726, 747; *CV* 148
Scheyven, Raymond b. 1911. Member, Chamber of Representatives, Belgium (Christian-Social Party). 419
Schneller Orphanage Compound (Jerusalem) 478, 478n; *CV* 110
Schuman, Robert b. 1886. Prime Minister of France. 18, 18n, 491, 502; *CV* 40
Schwartz, Joseph J. b. 1899. European Director, Joint Distribution Committee. 153, 153n; *CV* 60
Second World War 273–274, 752
Security Committee (of the Jewish Agency and the Va'ad Le'umi) 237
Security problem in Palestine 13, 16–17, 16n, 20–21, 23, 26–27, 27n, 31, 35, 36–37, 39–42, 42n–43n, 46–47, 60–61, 62, 63, 67, 69–72, 73, 79–85, 79n, 85n, 87–89, 94–97, 105, 106, 108–109, 114–115, 116–121, 150–153, 155–156, 167–172, 175–176, 181n, 188, 189, 197–198, 202, 205–214, 215, 220, 228–237, 240–246, 248, 250–251, 257n, 259–260, 306–307, 321n, 325, 371, 371n, 374–377, 374n, 379 edn–381 edn, 385–386, 412–415, 421–423, 429, 433–438, 442, 445, 450–451, 460–462, 467, 474, 509, 510–513, 514, 523–524, 526, 553–554, 553n, 581–582, 586–587, 602–613, 625, 647–650, 653n, 654, 656–658, 668–669, 669n, 687, 703–705, 710, 718–719, 733; *CV* 7–8, 9–10, 13–14, 21, 25, 27, 30, 41, 44, 51–52, 73, 83, 103
Security roads 84
Segal, Louis b. 1894. General Secretary, Jewish National Workers' Alliance of America (Farband). Member, Zionist General Council. Deputy-member, Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee, Lake Success, April-May 1948. 726n, 747; *CV* 148
Selig, *see* Brodetsky, Selig

Semiramis Hotel (Jerusalem) 137, 137n, 138, 138n, 155; *CV* 59–60
Senator, David Werner b. 1896. Administrator, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Leading member of Ihud Association for promotion of Jewish-Arab understanding. 251, 251n
Senft-Lisowski, Witold Vice-Consul of Poland in Jerusalem, until December 1947. 87, 87n; *CV* 8
Sephardim
  Representation of 403n, 421n, 444n, 460, 481; *CV* 97
Settlement, *see* Jewish settlement in Palestine
Sforza, Count Carlo b. 1873. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Italy. 195, 195n; *CV* 66
Shai, Yehoshua, *see* Behar (Shai), Yehoshua
Shaltiel, David 625 edn; *CV* 126
Shamir, Shlomo, *see* Rabinowicz (Shamir), Shlomo
Shapira, Moshe b. 1903. Member, Jewish Agency Executive. Head of Jewish Agency Immigration Department. Member, Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav). Member, National Administration, April-May 1948. 19, 59, 353, 444n, 506, 675n; *CV* 137, 138
Sharef, Ze'ev b. 1906. Secretary, Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav), November 1947—April 1948. Secretary, National Administration, April-May 1948. 61, 61n, 63, 266–267, 324–327, 359n, 424, 432, 536n; *CV* 14–15, 88
Sharett, Moshe, *see* Shertok (Sharett), Moshe
Sharon, plain of 666 edn; *CV* 134
Shatner, Mordecai b. 1904. Member, Executive, General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi), and Head of its Economic Department. Member, Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav). Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 506
Shawcross, Sir Hartley W. b. 1902. Attorney-General, U.K. Member, British Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 460–462, 461n; *CV* 21
Shayhani, Abd al-Wahhab Ali Iraqi colonel. Arab commander of Jaffa until February 1948. 333, 333n; *CV* 85
Sheikh Hussein Bridge 376n; *CV* 93
Shenkar, Arie b. 1877. President, Manufacturers' Association of Palestine. Leading member of ha-Ihud ha-Ezrahi. 459–460
Shertok (Sharett), Moshe b. 1894. Member, Jewish Agency Executive and Head of Jewish Agency Political Department. Member, National Administration, April-May 1948. 4, 19, 20, 20n, 25, 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34–35, 38, 41n, 42–43, 44 edn, 47, 48, 49–50, 49n, 50n, 54–55, 57–58, 58n, 58–59, 59–61, 61–62, 62n, 74–75, 78, 85–86, 89, 90–91, 92, 92n, 100, 100n, 102, 102–104, 102n, 103n, 110, 110–112, 113–114, 113n, 114–115, 125, 126–129, 126n, 130, 134, 147, 147n, 154, 156–157, 157, 157n, 163 edn, 164–182, 183, 183–184, 184n, 186, 187, 187n, 189n, 194–196, 196–200, 202–203, 205–214, 216–217, 217–218, 217n, 224, 226, 237, 237n, 247, 254, 257, 257–258, 258n, 261 266–267, 267n, 285, 286–287, 288–290, 290–292, 294–297, 294n, 297n, 301, 305, 308, 310, 312, 316, 318–319, 319–320, 321, 321n, 322–323, 325, 326, 331, 332, 333–334, 334, 336, 338–339, 339–340, 339n, 342n, 343n, 349–350, 350n, 352, 352–353, 353n, 354–357, 357–358, 359, 359n, 361–362, 364, 367, 368, 368n, 368–372, 373, 374, 374–375, 375n, 379 edn–380 edn, 384, 386, 397–398, 398n,

Shertok (Sharett), Moshe — Continued 403, 403–405, 405n, 408n, 415, 419–421, 421n, 424, 424n, 428, 428n, 432, 434, 441, 442–443, 443–444, 444n, 450–451, 451n, 454edn–455edn 459–462, 461n, 463, 467, 467–468, 472, 472–473, 474, 474 edn, 481, 484, 484n, 486, 487–488, 489, 490, 491, 492n, 493–494, 494–495, 495, 495n, 496, 497, 497n, 499, 501, 505, 505–506, 506–507, 509, 509n, 509–521, 524, 525, 526, 526–527, 531, 531–535, 536, 536n, 537–540, 548, 548 edn, 549n, 551–552, 552n, 553, 553n, 553–554, 554–558, 558, 565, 566–568, 568, 568n, 570, 572n, 574, 574n, 575, 576, 576n, 577, 578n, 583, 583–586, 587, 591–596, 596n, 596–600, 600, 604, 604n, 604–605, 605, 621, 626, 627, 628–629, 632, 633 edn–634 edn, 634–639, 639–642, 647, 648n, 650–652, 652–653, 653, 654, 654n, 655–656, 656–658, 664, 665, 665n, 666 edn, 667, 670, 670edn–671edn, 674, 674–675, 674n, 677, 677 edn, 680, 681, 683, 683n, 684–686, 686n, 689, 692–693, 693, 693n, 694, 695, 695n, 695–696, 697, 698–699, 699n, 700, 706, 707, 708, 709, 711, 711n, 712, 712–713, 713n, 716–717, 717n, 720, 721, 721–722, 721n, 722–723, 726–727, 727n, 728–729, 729n, 729–730, 737, 738–741, 741, 742, 742–743, 743n, 747, 748, 749, 749n, 749–750, 750n, 757n, 757–769, 762n, 770, 770n, 776–777, 778n, 782, 787–788, 791, 791–792, 793–794; *CV* 5–6, 9, 11–12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 40, 44, 46, 47, 48–49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 61, 62, 63, 64, 68, 72, 73, 75, 77, 78, 81, 83, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 95, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 105, 106, 107, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118–119, 121, 123, 124, 125, 128, 129, 133, 134–135, 139, 140, 141, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 151, 152, 153, 156

Shiloah, Reuven, *see* Zaslani (Shiloah), Reuven

Shimoni, Yaacov b. 1915. Deputy Director, Arab Section, Jewish Agency Political Department. 44–46, 44n, 194, 411n, 458 edn, 789–791; *CV* 4–5, 20, 33, 99

Shipping services 253

Shitreet, Behor Shalom b. 1895. Senior Magistrate, Tel Aviv. Member, National Administration, April-May 1948. 460

Shragai, Shlomo Zalman b. 1899. Member, Jewish Agency Executive, London. 100–101, 100n, 203–204, 292n, 317, 508; *CV* 54

Shultz, Lillie Director, *Nation* Associates, U.S. 123, 123n, 297n; *CV* 57, 80

Shuraiqi, Muhammad al- b. 1898. Chief of Royal Cabinet, Transjordan. Formerly (1945-47) Minister of Foreign Affairs. 45, 667–668, 668n; *CV* 24, 25

Siam

Delegation to U.N. 787 edn

Sieff, Israel M. b. 1889. Vice-Chairman and Joint Managing Director, Marks and Spencer Ltd. Active Zionist since First World War. 474, 474n; *CV* 108

Silver, Abba Hillel b. 1893. Member, Jewish Agency Executive, and Chairman of its American Section. Chairman, American Zionist Emergency Council. 18, 24–25, 190, 190n, 203, 203n, 215 ,240–246, 286, 289n, 321n, 325, 329, 329n, 344, 378–379, 454 edn, 474 edn–475 edn, 475–478, 475n, 489, 519, 571, 578–579, 600–602, 603–604, 626, 640n, 708, 726, 747, 748, 775–776, 787, 787–788, 792n; *CV* 15, 65, 67, 78, 83, 84, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 129, 139

Simms, William P. b. 1881. American journalist. 215–216

Slovakia 76–77; *CV* 7
Smith, Trafford b. 1912. Assistant Secretary, Colonial Office, U.K. Temporarily attached to British Mission to U.N. 12, 69–72, 99, 122, 188, 188n, 224, 313, 313n; *CV* 64, 82
Smuts, Jan Christiaan b. 1870. Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Defence, Union of South Africa. 5, 12, 669
Sneh, Moshe b. 1909. Member, Jewish Agency Executive, until December 1947. Co-founder of United Workers' Party (Mapam), January 1948. 19, 19n, 60, 74, 75–78, 75n, 104–105, 283; *CV* 6–7, 40, 54
Sobolev, Arkady A. b. 1903. Assistant Secretary-General, U.N., in charge of Security Council affairs. 50n, 51n, 67, 110–112, 163 edn, 342, 342n, 711n; *CV* 16, 47, 62, 145
Socony Vacuum 357
Sofar 45n
Sofia 331, 331n; *CV* 84
Solel Boneh 504
Solomon's Pools 343, 732n
Soloveitchik, Leontino 130
Somoza, Anastasio b. 1896. Minister of War, Nicaragua. Former President (1938-47). 557, 557n; *CV* 120
South Africa, *see* Union of South Africa
Southard, Frank A. 92n; *CV* 53
South-West Africa 4–5, 426, 644, 644n; *CV* 130
Soviet Bloc 101, 252n, 522, 673; *CV* 22, 72
  Delegations to U.N. 566, 787edn
  Consuls in Jerusalem 87, 89
Soviet Union 22, 24, 28, 100, 127, 130n, 132, 133, 145, 147, 149, 158, 187, 189, 216, 220, 222, 223, 224, 239, 248, 251, 252, 253, 255, 261, 262, 263, 271–272, 275, 287, 292, 298, 308, 315, 325, 333–334, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344–345, 348n, 352, 358, 365n, 381, 390, 392, 399, 409, 416, 425n, 448, 459 edn, 465, 489, 485, 486, 491, 491n, 492, 502, 505, 518, 571, 580, 593, 597, 601–602, 628, 751, 754, 755; *CV* 3, 11, 15, 16, 17, 48, 54, 58, 69, 74, 85, 90, 101, 112, 128, 154
  Support of partition 24–25, 39, 131, 160–161, 275, 347–348, 358, 364, 440, 500, 548n; *CV* 117
  Delegation to U.N. 7, 7n, 66n, 103, 130, 136, 265n, 300, 338–339, 348, 358, 380, 381 edn, 454 edn, 468, 498, 548 edn, 565n, 633 edn, 634 edn, 650edn, 654n, 669n, 671n; *CV* 38, 50, 74, 94, 95, 105–106, 107, 112, 117, 118, 120, 128, 130, 131, 132, 136, 137
  Veto in Security Council 491, 497
  Embassy in U.S. 468
  Red Army 216, 292n, 522; *CV* 78
  Recognition of Jewish State 775, 776
  See also Communism, Communists; Soviet Bloc; Ukraine
Spaak, Paul-Henri b. 1899. Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Belgium. Head of Belgian Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 129, 129n, 281–282, 416–419, 498–499, 658–659, 681–683, 683n; *CV* 58, 139
Spaatz, Carl b. 1891. Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force. 287, 287n, 291, 309; *CV* 77
Spain 28, 466, 466n; *CV* 110
  Civil War 478, 503, 562, 583, 584–585, 710
  U.N. resolution concerning diplomatic relations with 466, 466n; *CV* 108

Spiegel (Golan), Nahum 721n; *CV* 147
Standard Oil, New Jersey 357
Stassen, Harold E. b. 1907. Formerly (1939-43) Governor, State of Minnesota, U.S. Republican. 288, 288n; *CV* 77
Stavropoulos, Constantin A. b. 1905. Legal Counsel, Department of Legal Affairs, U.N. Secretariat. Formerly (1947) legal expert, UNSCOP Secretariat. Member, drafting groups of experts, Trusteeship Council's Working Committee on Jerusalem, December 1947-January 1948. Principal Legal Adviser, U.N. Palestine Commission, January-May 1948, and member of its Advance Party, March-April 1948. 420, 420n, 438n, 439, 478, 550–551, 584; *CV* 100, 103
Steel Brothers Ltd. 622, 622n; *CV* 126
Sterling area 14, 87, 373–374, 373n, 374n, 377–378; *CV* 8, 91
Sterling balances 199
See also Palestine currency; Palestine Currency Board
Stern (Oron), Arie b. 1916. Director, Jewish Agency Office, Rome. 158, 158n; *CV* 61
Stern Group, *see* Lohamei Herut Israel (Lehi)
Stevenson, Adlai E. b. 1900. Alternate Representative, U.S. Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 296
Stimson, Henry L. b. 1867. Formerly Secretary of State (1929-33) and Secretary of War (1940-45), U.S. 285–286, 285n, 295, 378; *CV* 77
Stockholm 751–755
Stubbs, Richard b. 1909. Public Information Officer, Palestine Government. 444, 444n, 479
Suez Canal 22
Sulh, Riyad al- 189n; *CV* 65
Sulh, Taqi al-Din b. 1909. Counsellor, Arab League Secretariat. 756n–757n, 778; *CV* 153
Sullivan, Gael b. 1904. Vice-Chairman, Democratic National Committee, U.S., until April 1948. 297–298, 297n, 298n, 326n; *CV* 80
Sulzberger, Arthur H. b. 1891. Publisher of *New York Times*. 425–427, 425n; *CV* 101
Suman, John R. b. 1890. Vice-President, Standard Oil, New Jersey. 357n; *CV* 88
Supplies for Palestine, *see* Food supplies for Palestine; Fuel supplies for Palestine
Supreme Moslem Council 120, 121, 377, 377n, 744; *CV* 10, 30, 93
Sweden
  Government 751, 754
  Delegation to U.N. 579–582, 669n; *CV* 136
Syria 29, 45, 45n, 84, 90, 92n, 102n, 103, 146, 216, 242n, 249, 320n, 325, 325n, 390, 511, 530n, 670n; *CV* 5, 15, 18, 19, 53, 55, 70, 83, 116, 136, 140
  Government 356, 356n, 390, 431, 530, 530n, 671 edn; *CV* 88, 116
  Delegation to U.N. 380 edn, 381 edn, 474 edn, 547 edn–548 edn, 565, 577, 633n, 654n, 666 edn, 671edn, 683edn; *CV* 49, 50, 89, 94, 95, 109, 117, 118, 127–128, 132, 134, 136, 137
  Army 437, 686n, 711, 782, 789–790; *CV* 33, 140
  See also Greater Syria

Taft, Charles 642n, 655n; *CV* 130, 133
Taft, Robert A. b. 1889. Member, U.S. Senate (Republican). 183, 183n, 288, 296, 329, 329n, 342, 361–362; *CV* 16, 63, 84
Talal ibn Abdallah b. 1909. Heir to the Throne of Transjordan. 740

Talpiot (Jerusalem) 154, 526, 560, 701n; *CV* 142
Tamimi, Rafiq al- Member, Arab Higher Committee. 37
Tantura 763n
Tapline (Trans-Arabian Pipe Line Company) 356n; *CV* 88
Tel Aviv 14, 16, 33, 156, 257n, 292, 412, 436, 439, 453, 559, 564, 572, 666 edn, 674n, 691, 704, 719, 722n, 759, 761, 763n, 782, 785, 790; *CV* 5, 6, 51, 73, 76, 85 134, 137, 147
  Security situation in 12, 27, 35n, 37, 119; *CV* 44, 51–52
  Civil Guard, *see* Jewish Civil Guard
  Municipality 17n, 34, 46, 61, 84–85
  Port 122, 184, 217, 257, 257n, 357–358, 450n, 451, 461, 461n, 462, 509, 521, 582; *CV* 73, 105
  Truce agreement with Jaffa 332–333, 333n
Tel Litwinsky 70
Tel Mond 755n; *CV* 152
Tenants 128, 128n
Thackrey, Theodore O. b. 1901. Editor and Publisher, *New York Post Home News*. 378, 378n; CV 93
Thailand, *see* Siam
Thorp, Willard L. b. 1899. Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, U.S. Representative on U.N. Economic and Social Council. Alternate Representative, U.S. Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 92–94, 92n; *CV* 53
Thors, Thor b. 1903. Minister of Iceland in U.S. and Permanent Representative at U.N. Rapporteur, Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine, Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 753
Tiberias 666 edn, 667n, 670, 672, 712n, 735; *CV* 25, 26, 28, 134
Tirat Tsevi 437, 437n; *CV* 103
Toff, Moshe A. b. 1910. Jewish Agency official, U.S., in charge of Latin American affairs. 382–384, 382n, 554–558; *CV* 95
Trafford Smith, *see* Smith, Trafford
Trans-Arabian Pipe Line Company, *see* Tapline
Transfer of populations, *see under* Palestine problem, proposed solutions
Transjordan 13, 13n, 38, 44 edn, 45, 45n, 48, 126–127, 126n, 369, 399, 492, 740; *CV* 5, 11, 12, 13, 33, 39, 45, 140, 147
  Government 48n, 144, 198, 274, 277, 657–658; *CV* 46
  Parliament 686n; *CV* 140
  Loan and financial assistance 126–127, 147, 156–157, 186, 247
  Treaty with Great Britain 13, 13n, 186, 186n, 247, 278, 303, 657, 686, 687–688, 688n; *CV* 39, 64, 140
  Army, *see* Arab Legion
Transjordan Frontier Force 70, 83, 84, 95, 97, 197–198, 213
Transmitter, for use of Jews 16, 17; *CV* 3
Trieste, problem of 255, 500, 500n; *CV* 114
Tripolitania 448
Truce, cease-fire 505, 536, 568, 626n, 655, 683, 714, 722, 730, 731, 744, 777n, 789; *CV* 24, 102
  Security Council resolutions 462–463, 467, 472–473, 501n, 510, 512–513, 514, 529, 542–543, 547 edn–548 edn, 548, 551–552, 522n, 553, 565, 569, 574–575, 574n, 576, 576n, 593–595, 596, 596n, 597–600, 603–605, 627, 627n, 629, 632, 632edn–634edn, 634–643, 644, 648, 652, 652n, 653–654, 653n, 654n, 665, 670 edn–671 edn, 671–677, 689–691, 700–701, 708, 786 edn; *CV* 25, 26, 27–28, 28–29, 114, 117–

Truce, cease-fire — Continued
118, 122, 124, 127–129, 130, 132, 133, 136–137, 148, 153, 156
High Commissioner's initiative 559–561, 559n, 572–573, 572n, 602–603, 700–701, 704–707, 704n
U.S. initiative 677 edn, 678–680, 678n, 684–686, 684n, 692, 692n, 695–696, 696n, 697, 698–699, 699n, 710, 715, 716, 717, 718, 720, 723–727, 727n, 728–729, 729n, 731n, 733–736, 733n, 737, 741, 741n, 746–750, 749n, 750n, 753, 760–769, 762n, 775, 775n, 777; *CV* 138–139, 140–141, 142, 143–144, 146, 148–149, 150–151, 152, 155; Text of drafts 821–832
See also under Jerusalem, cease-fire; Palestine Truce Commission
Truman, Harry S. b. 1884. President of U.S.A. 6, 18, 40–41, 40n, 41n, 189, 189n, 191, 215, 221–222, 248, 295–296, 297–298, 309, 321, 326, 326n, 329, 341–349, 358, 364, 378, 386n, 440, 448–449, 474 edn–475 edn, 476, 529, 578, 579, 588–590, 588n, 590n, 595, 644–645, 710, 714–715, 714n, 715n, 720n, 725n, 728, 748, 749n, 750, 757, 765, 776, 788–789, 791; *CV* 15–16, 44, 65, 74, 79, 80, 84, 95, 108–109, 124, 145, 146, 148, 151–152
Truman Doctrine 448
Trusteeship, trusteeship regime for Palestine 363, 392, 393–394, 407, 426, 474 edn–475 edn, 476, 481–484, 486, 489, 491–493, 491n, 498, 499, 502, 502n, 514–516, 517, 525, 526–527, 528, 529, 531, 542, 547 edn, 548edn, 551, 553, 554n, 561–563, 565, 565n, 566, 568, 568n, 569–571, 569n, 575, 577, 577n, 578, 580–582, 584–585, 588n, 589, 591, 593, 597–598, 601, 603–605, 606 edn–607 edn, 608–621, 626, 628, 629, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 650–652, 650n, 658–660, 660n, 664, 667, 668, 681, 682, 684, 692, 697, 699–700, 707, 712, 714, 715–716, 715n–716n, 718, 724, 725, 726, 741n, 746, 747, 753, 758, 762n, 766, 777n; *CV* 28, 109, 111, 112, 114, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 131–132, 145–146, 150, 152, 153, 156
Tsarapkin, Semen K. b. 1906. Minister Counsellor, Embassy of U.S.S.R., Washington. Member, U.S.S.R. Delegation to Second Session and Second Special Session, U.N. General Assembly. Representative on Trusteeship Council. 7n, 347, 348n, 468–469; *CV* 38
Tse'elim 114n; *CV* 57
Tsiang Tingfu b. 1895. Member, Chinese Delegation to Second Session and Second Special Session, U.N. General Assembly. Chairman, First (Political and Security) Committee, Second Special Session. President, Security Council, March 1948. 335, 462
Tubas 242n; *CV* 70
Tulkarm 128, 183, 415
Tunisia 405
Turkey 216, 448, 459edn; *CV* 21
Government 389–390, 392
Delegation to U.N. 389–390, 392
Embassy in Washington 389
Turner, Fitzhugh *New York Herald Tribune* reporter in Palestine. 536, 536n; *CV* 116
Tvrdy, Andrej Commissar for Information, Slovakia. 77

Ueberall (Avriel), Ehud b. 1917. Was active in the Mosad le-Aliya (Haganah immigration organization). From end of 1947 was responsible for Haganah arms procurement in Europe. 60, 60n, 62, 62n, 92, 102, 333, 333n, 338, 338n; *CV* 6, 49, 85, 86

Ukraine 251
Delegation to U.N. 348, 381edn, 498, 548 edn, 565n, 634 edn, 654n, 671 edn; *CV* 95, 118, 120, 129, 132, 137
Ulloa, Alberto b. 1892. Member, Senate of Peru and President, Senate's Foreign Relations Committee. Head of Peruvian Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. Formerly (1947) Vice-Chairman of UNSCOP. 556, 556n; *CV* 120
Undén, Bo Östen b. 1886. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sweden. Head of Swedish Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 751, 753–754
Union of South Africa 15, 644, 644n; *CV* 130
Delegation to U.N. 4–5, 11, 644n, 669, 734; *CV* 130
Racial problem 4–5
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, *see* Soviet Union
Union Sioniste Française 105n, 130n; *CV* 55, 58
United Jewish Appeal 194n, 488n, 692; *CV* 66, 111
United Kingdom, *see* Great Britain
United Nations 6, 10, 54, 56, 57, 59, 74, 86, 88, 93, 98, 103, 110, 121, 126, 127, 133, 137, 142, 145, 147, 155, 161, 162, 165, 166, 168–169, 171, 173, 174, 176, 180, 184, 189, 191, 193, 200, 207, 208, 214, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222, 226, 227, 235, 243, 244, 245, 247, 256, 257, 259, 260, 269–272, 274, 275, 276, 279, 282, 283, 295, 296–298, 298n, 299, 302n, 308n, 309, 311, 312, 321, 324, 325–326, 325n, 329n, 335–337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 344, 351, 354, 358, 359, 360, 363, 365, 365n, 369n, 370, 372, 384, 394, 397, 408, 409, 425–426, 425n, 427, 434n, 447, 449, 451, 453, 461, 464, 466, 473, 476, 482, 483, 484, 491–492,

United Nations — Continued
494n, 496, 497–498, 500, 501n, 503, 505, 516, 518, 519, 527, 542, 549, 551, 563, 564, 565, 570, 572, 577, 578, 579, 597, 601, 606 edn, 609, 611, 614, 626, 628, 636–637, 638, 639, 641, 644, 650, 657, 664, 667, 669n, 685, 718, 725, 726, 731, 735, 751–753, 754, 756n, 762, 762n, 767, 770, 770n, 773, 775–776, 779, 779n, 785, 786 edn, 787, 789, 791; *CV* 5, 8, 15, 16, 37, 50, 80, 81, 84, 85, 89–90, 91, 101, 111, 112, 114, 123, 132, 144, 153, 154, 156
Charter 39, 40, 64, 221, 223, 260, 260n, 262n, 269–270, 281–282, 299, 308, 336, 337, 426, 475 edn, 482, 485n, 530, 547 edn, 577, 596, 603, 604, 606 edn, 609, 610, 617, 619, 643, 643n, 645, 646, 651, 651n, 657, 670, 688n, 725, 741, 777n; *CV* 72, 74, 81, 110, 130, 140, 156
General Assembly 343, 364, 383, 527, 580, 607edn, 619, 644, 651, 785; *CV* 16, 72, 76
General Assembly, First Session 466n, 644n; *CV* 108, 130
General Assembly, First Special Session 14n, 50, 351, 556; *CV* 39
General Assembly, Second Session 3edn, 3n, 7n, 18, 32n, 38, 40n, 50, 51, 58n, 63, 64, 65n, 66, 66n, 69, 75, 103, 105, 109, 135, 136, 160, 164, 171, 191, 201, 205, 206, 208, 210, 211, 212, 221, 252n, 264, 265, 267, 281, 281n, 313, 335, 337, 337n, 351, 366, 370, 380edn, 383–384, 388, 389–390, 394, 396, 396n, 405, 455, 465n, 470, 477, 482, 518, 519, 519n, 520, 539, 556, 557, 580, 592, 609, 610, 613, 615–616, 644, 644n, 658, 681, 736, 753, 763, 768; *CV* 37, 38, 39, 42, 44, 48, 49, 50, 76, 80, 86, 94, 96, 98, 107, 108, 130, 143

United Nations — Continued
General Assembly, Second Special Session 380edn, 383, 465, 474edn–475edn, 481, 483, 489, 491, 492, 497, 500, 501n–502n, 502, 536, 542, 547edn, 548edn, 551, 553, 554, 554n, 555, 556, 558, 561, 562, 564, 565, 570, 571, 577, 578–582, 583, 593, 601, 605, 612, 617, 619, 622, 627, 628–629, 633edn, 637, 641, 642, 645, 646, 650n, 650edn, 651, 660, 665, 666edn, 668–669, 668n, 669n, 677, 690, 693, 699, 705, 709edn, 710, 715, 715n–716n, 720, 725, 743, 747–748, 762, 762n, 770n, 776n–777n, 786edn–787edn, 787, 792; *CV* 17, 23, 57, 94, 109, 114, 117, 118, 119, 131, 134–136, 144, 145–146, 153, 154, 155–156, 157; Suggested convening of special session 187, 204, 252, 285, 313
General Assembly, Third Session 697, 756, 777n; *CV* 156
Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestine problem (Second Session of General Assembly) 5, 5n, 10, 50, 52, 52n, 55456, 164, 211, 425, 465, 477, 529, 678, 753; *CV* 38, 48, 50, 107–108; Sub-Committee 1 5, 5n, 7n, 26n, 50, 164, 211n; *CV* 38, 55, 67; Sub-Committee 2 5n, 68n, 465; *CV* 38, 50, 107–108; Sub-Committee 3 5n; *CV* 38
Interim Committee 252, 252n, 262, 555; *CV* 72
Security Council 7, 7n, 10, 33, 47, 47n, 48, 48n, 50–51, 50n, 56, 57, 58, 58n, 63, 63n, 63–69, 65n, 67n, 86, 90, 91, 103–105, 108, 111, 112, 114, 115–116, 124, 129–130, 129n, 135, 136, 137, 138–139, 147, 150, 153, 167, 173, 176, 188, 197, 200, 201, 202–203, 204n, 205, 212, 213, 223, 224, 250, 252, 252n, 255, 258–260, 258n, 260n, 262–265, 269, 281–282, 283, 284, 288, 298–299, 300, 303, 310, 311, 313, 314, 319, 321, 321n, 322, 323, 326, 329, 333n, 335, 336, 337, 341, 342, 345–348, 348n, 350–352, 358, 360, 381n, 382n, 383, 384, 396, 400, 401, 425, 426, 432n, 434n, 440, 455edn, 464, 467, 468, 472–473, 477, 477n, 482, 489, 491, 493, 494n, 495, 499, 505, 507, 510, 511, 511n, 522, 527, 531–532, 533, 534, 535, 539, 557–558, 593, 602, 603, 606 edn–607edn, 608, 609, 633edn, 640, 640n, 641, 642, 643, 644, 646, 651, 656, 657, 658, 664, 671edn, 711, 711n, 712, 713, 722, 725, 728, 738, 741, 744, 780, 781, 785, 786edn, 792, 792n, 793; *CV* 9, 13, 16, 17, 30, 38, 46, 47, 49–50, 58, 72, 73, 83, 84, 91, 92, 96, 97, 102, 105, 106, 112, 115, 125, 139, 145, 158; *see also under* Truce, cease-fire
Security Council, discussion and resolution (9 December 1947) 48n, 65–66, 65n–66n; *CV* 46, 49–50
Security Council, discussion and resolution (24 February–5 March 1948) 379 edn–381 edn, 381, 383, 383n, 386–387, 387n, 388, 392–393, 392n, 394, 395, 395n, 396, 397–398, 399, 402, 403–404, 405, 407, 416–418, 428, 428n, 429, 454 edn, 464, 465; *CV* 90–91, 93–95
Security Council, discussion (19 March 1948) 474 edn–475 edn, 475–478, 481, 482, 487–488, 491, 491n, 493, 497–498, 644, 644n; *CV* 109, 112, 114

United Nations — Continued
Security Council, permanent members' discussions (March 1948) 379 edn–380 edn, 381, 381n, 404, 405, 432, 432n, 440–441, 442n, 450, 450n, 454 edn–455 edn, 455, 462–463, 464, 466, 472, 472 edn, 475n, 484, 485, 487n, 510, 518, 519, 547 edn, 596; *CV* 17, 93–94, 102, 103, 104, 106–107, 109, 110, 111, 130
Security Council, discussion (24 March 1948) 501–502, 501n–502n; *CV* 114
Security Council, discussion and resolutions (30 March–1 April 1948) 545edn–548edn, 548, 551-552, 552n, 554n, 559, 632edn, 640, 650edn; *CV* 117–118, 129, 131
Security Council, informal discussion (5 April 1948) 565, 565n, 569; *CV* 120
Security Council, informal meetings with Arab and Jewish representatives (7-8 April 1948) 574–575, 574n, 576, 576n, 593–594, 600, 640; *CV* 122
Security Council, informal meeting (7 April 1948) 575, 577
Security Council, informal discussion (9 April 1948) 576n; *CV* 122
Security Council, discussion (15-16 April 1948) 627, 627n, 632 edn–634 edn, 634–642, 641n, 654, 654n, 656, 657; *CV* 119, 120, 127–129
Security Council, resolution (17 April 1948) 671 edn, 677 edn, 706n; *CV* 132, 138, 143
Security Council, discussion and resolution (23 April 1948) 666 edn, 670edn–671edn, 671, 786 edn; *CV* 134–135, 136–137
Security Council, provisional rules of procedure 51, 350–351, 640, 640n; *CV* 129

United Nations — Continued
Trusteeship Council 10, 48, 49n, 53, 321n, 343, 343n, 345, 348, 348n, 364n, 375, 375n, 384, 424n, 441–442, 441n, 442n, 475 edn, 491, 491n, 606 edn, 609, 612, 617, 619, 651, 669n, 683, 683n, 693, 693n, 707–708, 709 edn, 709, 721, 721n, 785; *CV* 17, 38, 46, 47, 67, 83, 92, 100–101, 103, 112, 135, 136, 139, 141, 144, 146; Working Committee on Jerusalem 11, 11n, 49 edn, 49n, 140–142, 140n, 187–188, 187n, 188n, 214n, 216–217, 217n, 343n, 351, 364n; *CV* 16, 38, 46, 47, 55, 60, 66, 67, 68, 74
Economic and Social Council 10, 299–300, 362
U.N. Secretariat 10, 49n, 67, 75, 88, 124–125, 182, 188, 189, 316, 321n, 345, 349, 351, 406 edn, 640n; *CV* 46, 83, 98, 129
Military Staff Committee 335, 335n; *CV* 85
See also Lake Success; Partition of Palestine, U.N. General Assembly Resolution; San Francisco Conference (1945); United Nations Palestine Commission; United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP); United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB); United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea
United Nations Commissioner for Palestine
Suggested appointment of 786 edn; *CV* 157
United Nations international force for Palestine 90, 103, 104, 110–111, 121, 125, 129, 133, 135, 150, 153, 155, 161–162, 170–171, 183, 185, 188, 189–190, 191, 197, 200, 204, 207, 214, 215, 216, 219, 220, 223, 224, 225n, 243, 247, 248, 250,

United Nations International force for Palestine — Continued
251–252, 255, 258, 258n, 259–261, 263–264, 269, 271–272, 282, 287, 288, 289, 289n, 292, 297, 299, 310, 313, 315, 321, 325, 326, 328, 329n, 333–334, 335, 336, 338, 341, 342, 343, 344–345, 346, 347–348, 349, 352, 358, 360, 361, 363–364, 365n, 366, 368, 372, 373, 375, 379 edn, 381, 390, 397, 401, 401n, 416, 417, 426, 429, 434, 437, 439, 467, 469, 491–492, 505, 517, 518, 520, 524, 526, 561, 581, 583, 593, 597, 601, 606 edn–607 edn, 618–619, 651, 659, 667, 681, 682, 696, 715, 715n, 751; *CV* 15, 16–17, 65, 69, 73, 78, 84, 89–90, 93, 97
Volunteer force 529
See also Jerusalem, special municipal police force; Jerusalem, Scandinavian force
United Nations Palestine Commission
10–11, 17n, 19, 25, 33, 33n, 35, 38, 38n, 48, 58n, 64–65, 66, 88n, 99, 101, 103, 112, 115–116, 124–125, 129, 129n, 135, 136, 158, 163 edn, 164–182, 181n, 183n, 183–184, 185, 188–189, 196–200, 205, 206, 207–208, 210, 211, 212, 213, 216, 223, 224, 242, 242n, 247, 256, 257, 257n, 257–261, 260n, 262, 263, 266–267, 266n, 282, 284n, 298, 299, 303, 312, 314, 314n, 315, 316, 317, 321, 321n, 326, 326n, 333n, 336, 342, 344–349, 351, 353n, 358, 359, 359n, 364, 364n 367, 371, 373–374, 374n, 377, 379 edn–381 edn, 381, 382, 383, 396–397, 410, 410n, 427, 428, 428n, 434n, 438, 443–444, 451, 453, 454, edn, 455, 461, 467–468, 469, 472–473, 474 edn, 477, 481, 481n, 489, 490, 492, 493, 494n, 495, 499, 500, 502n, 506–507, 525, 531–535, 537–540, 541, 547 edn, 548edn, 557, 558, 563, 566, 568, 574n, 581, 584, 595, 608n, 621–624, 621n, 622n, 643, 650, edn, 660–661, 664, 668 edn, 734,
United Nations Palestine Commission —Continued
753, 768, 799; *CV* 11, 15, 17 49, 57, 88, 61, 62–63, 64–65, 70, 72–73, 75, 76–77, 82, 83, 84, 86, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94, 98, 102, 105, 106, 112, 114, 117–118, 125, 126, 131, 135, 157
Postponement of its arrival in Palestine 38, 54–57, 55n, 73–74, 75, 88–89, 91, 97–98, 101, 107–109, 112, 122, 149, 152–153, 155, 166–167, 180, 184, 203–204, 247, 252, 284, 284n, 301–302, 307, 313–314, 321n, 339, 347, 406edn, 450, 451n, 462, 494, 533, 538, 579, 681; *CV* 8, 9, 10–11, 17, 48, 77, 83, 98, 105
Advance Party 321, 321n, 345, 349, 406–407, 406 edn, 414, 419–420, 433–434, 433n, 435, 438–439, 438n, 447, 452, 453, 467–468, 478–480, 484, 492, 503–504, 524, 550–551, 558, 561, 562–563, 564, 567–568, 583–586, 660–663, 778–779, 784–785; *CV* 19, 83, 98, 102, 103
Discharge of 786edn–787edn; *CV* 157
United Nations provisional central committee for Palestine
Suggested 777n; *CV* 157
United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) 4, 4n, 8n, 14n, 157n, 164, 177, 178, 258, 272, 346, 351, 369, 420, 439, 466, 556, 580, 588, 609, 613, 617, 682, 752–753, 754, 785; *CV* 37, 38, 39, 41, 61, 91, 102
Majority report 4, 369n; *CV* 38
Minority report 9, 9n, 76, 396n; *CV* 38, 96
United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB) 260, 302, 302n; *CV* 80
United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea 263

United States
Supports partition of Palestine 18, 40–41, 203, 474n, 588n; *CV* 109, 124
Retreat from partition 86, 139, 186–187, 219, 265, 269–276, 292, 294–297, 295n, 297–298, 298n, 299, 309, 315, 320, 324–326, 327–329, 337, 339–343, 348, 358, 361, 365n, 367, 370, 373, 378–379, 388, 392, 393–394, 395, 396, 397n, 426, 440–441, 474 edn–475 edn, 476–478, 482–484, 486–487, 487n, 488, 491, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 503, 505, 514–515, 523, 528, 529, 542, 558, 580, 588–590, 588n, 595–596, 601, 628, 700, 714, 753; *CV* 14–16, 89, 90, 96, 109, 123–124
Government 14, 32n, 40, 41, 52, 57n, 58n, 64, 75, 86, 93, 93n, 103, 104, 107n, 110, 111, 123, 124, 135, 137, 149–150, 155, 183, 183n, 185, 187, 191, 215, 220, 221–222, 223, 251, 252n, 253, 263, 265n, 268, 276, 287, 288, 291n, 292, 293, 294, 309, 328, 339, 340, 341, 345, 348, 361–362, 365n, 366, 367, 372, 381, 388, 389, 392–394, 396, 397, 426, 429, 440, 448, 451, 469, 470, 474 edn, 476, 496, 500n, 510, 515, 528, 529, 530, 547 edn, 578, 579, 593, 594, 597, 601, 603, 606 edn, 643, 644, 645, 646, 685, 724, 759–760, 761, 762, 764, 765, 766, 768, 786 edn, 788; *CV* 15–16, 53, 56, 78, 79, 109, 113, 123, 157
Department of State 5–6, 10–11, 19 edn, 20, 40n, 57–58, 86, 93, 103, 104, 134–137, 138, 148, 160, 161, 187, 189, 191, 192n, 215, 218–221, 224, 225n, 239, 252, 261–262, 265, 285–286, 287, 289, 292n, 293, 293n, 295, 297, 298, 304, 310, 315, 320, 324–325, 333–334, 339–342, 358, 366–367, 368–372, 368n, 373, 385–386, 386n, 393–397, 397n, 425, 425n, 426, 440, 470, 471, 482, 483, 484, 499, 509–521, 509n, 528–531, 565, 581, 591–596, 597, 600–601, 603–604, 643–646, 652, 655–656, 655n, 674–675, 677 edn, 680, 684–686, 692, 695–696, 697, 705–707, 710, 711, 714, 715, 725–726, 727, 731n, 733–734, 735, 736, 747–748, 749–750, 749n, 750n, 757–769, 775, 776; *CV* 15, 40, 44, 65, 78, 79, 90, 96, 101, 133, 138–139, 151
Treasury Department 92n, 93; *CV* 53
Department of the Interior 354–357
Department of Commerce 385
Military Establishment and Defence departments 103, 136, 261, 286, 295, 297, 298, 324, 333–334, 337, 340–341, 343, 358
Army 11, 286–287, 342; despatch of troops to Palestine 189n, 528, 529, 531, 542; *CV* 65
Navy 249
Combined Chiefs of Staff 292n; *CV* 78
Joint Chiefs of Staff 329
Delegation to U.N. 5–6, 5n, 9, 49 edn, 66, 103, 135, 136, 142, 201, 219, 264, 265, 265n, 269, 276, 287, 290, 339, 358, 370, 379 edn–381 edn, 387, 392–394, 395, 440, 454 edn, 466, 474edn–475 edn, 476, 477, 493, 498, 514–515, 520, 547 edn–548 edn, 558, 565, 565n, 569n, 578, 596–600, 606 edn–607 edn, 608, 616, 633 edn, 644n, 650–652, 650n, 654n, 671 edn, 696, 710, 714, 716n, 715–716, 717, 728, 749,

United States — Continued
777, 777n, 786 edn; *CV* 38, 42, 46, 50, 72, 74, 93–95, 106–107, 109, 112, 114, 117–118, 120, 121, 125, 127, 132, 136–137, 146, 157
Embassy in London 85, 542; *CV* 10
Legation in Damascus 325n
Consulate in Jerusalem 219n, 227–228, 251–253, 280–281, 509, 509n, 689n; *CV* 68, 105, 115
White House 6, 51, 189n, 191, 192n, 221, 222, 239, 261, 278, 320, 324, 325, 326n, 329, 514, 734, 736, 749, 775; *CV* 65; *See also* Truman, Harry S.
Congress 93n, 94n, 103, 222, 248–249, 329n, 425n, 469n, 489, 490, 496, 498n, 610; *CV* 53, 101, 108, 113
Senate 133, 249, 287, 329n, 365n, 482; *CV* 59; Foreign Relations Committee 768
Public opinion 51, 106, 341, 358, 362, 365–367, 365n, 393–394, 642, 642n, 705–706, 734, 767; *CV* 15, 89
Parties and elections 295, 298, 341, 469n; *CV* 108
Democratic Party 236n, 309, 315, 329, 342, 469n, 733; *CV* 16, 80, 108
Republican Party 288, 288n, 296n, 315, 329, 342, 361–362; *CV* 77, 79
Labour Party 469n; *CV* 108
Bipartisan policy 296, 315, 342; *CV* 16
Foreign Agents Registration Act 775
Recognition of Jewish State 462, 747, 775–776, 786edn, 788–789; *CV* 21, 157
Financial sanctions by 706, 710, 717–718, 746, 747, 750n, 767; *CV* 152
See also under Embargo on supply of arms to Middle East

United Workers' Party, *see* Mapam
Universal Postal Union 624, 624n; *CV* 126
UNSCOP, *see* United Nations Special Committee on Palestine
Uruguay
Delegation to U.N. 555, 628–629, 650edn, 669edn; *CV* 131, 136
U.S.S.R., *see* Soviet Union
Uziel, Ben-Zion Meir Hay b. 1880. Sephardi Chief Rabbi of Palestine. 228, 228n, 232n

Va'adat Hamatzav, *see* Emergency Committee (Va'adat Hamatzav)
Va'ad Le'umi, *see* General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi)
Valley of Yizre'el 4n, 61n, 492, 648, 735, 790n; *CV* 25, 37, 76
Vandenberg, Arthur H. b. 1884. President Pro Tempore, U.S. Senate. (Republican). Chairman, Senate's Foreign Relations Committee. Vice-Chairman, American Christian Palestine Committee. 133, 133n, 288, 296, 329, 329n, 342, 361–362; *CV* 16, 59, 84
Vanthiers, Felix Member, drafting group of experts, Trusteeship Council's Working Committee on Jerusalem, December 1947–January 1948. 201, 201n; *CV* 66
Varna (Bulgaria) 332n; *CV* 84
Vasconsellos, César A. b. 1899. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paraguay. 556, 556n; *CV* 120
Vatican 159, 549–550, 550n, 631; *CV* 113
Venezuela 556
Videla, Gabriel G. b. 1898. President of Chile 555, 555n; *CV* 119
Vigier, Henri b. 1886. Senior official, General Political Division, Department of Security Council Affairs, U.N. Secretariat. Member,

drafting group of experts, Trusteeship Council's Working Committee on Jerusalem, December 1947–January 1948. Principal Political Adviser, U.N. Palestine Commission, January–May 1948. 258–261
Volunteers, *see* Jewish volunteers for Palestine
Vos, Herman G. b. 1889. Member, Senate of Belgium. Member, Belgian Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly, and Head of Delegation to Second Special Session. 658–659

Wadsworth, George b. 1893. Ambassador of U.S. to Iraq. Formerly (1936-40) Consul-General in Jerusalem. 320, 320n, 324; *CV* 83
Wagner, Robert F. b. 1877. Member, U.S. Senate (Democrat). Cofounder, American Christian Palestine Committee. Member, National Council, Americans for Haganah. 183, 183n; *CV* 63
Wahl, David R. b. 1909. Executive Director, Americans for Haganah. Formerly (1945-47), Washington Secretary, American Jewish Conference. 540–541, 540n, 541n; *CV* 117
Wailing Wall 138, 229, 232, 241, 638, 744, 745, 757n; *CV* 30, 153
Waldrop, Frank C. b. 1905. Editor, *Washington Times-Herald*. 215–216
Wall Street (New York) 288
Warhaftig, Zerach b. 1906. Member, Zionist General Council. Member, Executive, General Council of the Jewish Community of Palestine (Va'ad Le'umi). Member, National Council, April-May 1948. 506
Warsaw Buildings (Jerusalem) 231n
Washington Post 215, 309, 393–394
Washington Times-Herald 215, 216
Wasson, Thomas C. b. 1896. Consul of U.S. in Jerusalem, from April 1948. Member, Palestine Truce Commission, from April 1948. 650n, 671 edn, 671–672, 689–691, 692, 756n; *CV* 131, 137, 152
Wauchope Street (Jerusalem) 412
Weekly Survey of the American Press 228, 228n; *CV* 70
Weill, Eugène b. 1906. Secretary-General, Alliance Israélite Universelle. 629–630
Weiner, Joseph L. b. 1902. Lawyer. Formerly (1942-43) Director of Civilian Supply, War Production Board, U.S. 379
Weingarten, Mordechai 234n
Weisgal, Meyer W. b. 1894. Chairman, Executive Council, Weizmann Institute of Science. Personal political representative of Chaim Weizmann in U.S. Formerly (1940-46) Secretary, American Section, Jewish Agency Executive. 189, 189n; *CV* 65
Weizmann, Chaim b. 1874. Formerly (1920-31, 1935-46) President, World Zionist Organization. 40–41, 40n, 41n, 92n, 105–106, 105n, 116, 189, 189n, 190, 204, 224, 224n, 225n, 237, 239, 296, 305, 312–313, 312n, 329, 372–374, 428, 428n, 440, 449, 474edn–475edn, 588–590, 588n, 714n, 782, 788–789; *CV* 44, 53, 55–56, 65, 69, 82, 84, 91, 102, 108–109, 123–124, 145
Welles, Sumner b. 1892. Vice-Chairman, American Christian Palestine Committee. Member, National Council, Americans for Haganah. Formerly (1937-43) Under Secretary of State, U.S. 218–222, 222n, 289, 292n, 295–296, 308–310, 308n, 310n, 365–367, 365n, 777; *CV* 78, 81, 89–90
Western Europe
  Delegations to U.N. 135
White Paper, *see* Palestine White Paper (May 1939)

Wierblowski, Stefan b. 1904. Secretary-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland, and Director of its Political Department. 508; *CV* 22
Wijkman, Per G. b. 1895. Minister of Sweden in Canada. 580
Wilkins, Fraser b. 1908. Official, Division of Near Eastern Affairs, Department of State, U.S. Adviser to U.S. Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly. 134–137, 368n; *CV* 90
Winterstein, Viotéch b. 1903. Chairman, Union of Jewish Communities of Slovakia. 77
Wise, Stephen S. b. 1874. Chairman, Executive, World Jewish Congress. President, American Jewish Congress. Formerly, President, Zionist Organization of America; Chairman, American Zionist Emergency Council; Member, Zionist General Council. 374
Wizo (Women's International Zionist Organization) 403n, 507; *CV* 97
Wolfsberg (Aviad), Yeshayahu b. 1893. Member, Zionist General Council. Member, Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee, Lake Success, April-May 1948. 726n, 747; *CV* 148
World Health Organization 504, 786 edn
World Jewish Congress 192n, 193, 238n, 362, 362n; *CV* 65, 70, 89
World Union Poalei-Zion-Hitahdut (Zionist labour party) 726n; *CV* 148

Yadin, Yigael 674n; *CV* 137
Yahya Hamid al-Din b. 1869. Imam of Yemen. Assassinated in February 1948. 399
Yassin, Yussuf b. 1900. Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Saudi Arabia. 402
Yazur 70, 70n, 108, 118–119, 245, 245n; *CV* 51, 71
Yehiam 536n; *CV* 116
Yemen 153
  Government 153
  Revolution in 399, 399n, 400; *CV* 97
Yemenites organizations (Palestine) 403n, 460, 507; *CV* 97
Yemin Moshe (Jerusalem) 422, 694
Yishuv, *see* Jewish community in Palestine
Y.M.C.A. (Young Men's Christian Asssociation) 419
Yugoslavia 302n, 332n, 338n, 347; *CV* 17, 80, 84, 86
  Government 338n, 500n; *CV* 86, 114
  Consulate in Jerusalem 587
  Delegation to U.N. 7, 650 edn; *CV* 131
Yuval, Moshe b. 1913. Counsellor, Jewish Agency Office, Washington. 110–112, 110n, 196, 226–228, 226n, 294–297; *CV* 56, 69

Zafrulla Khan, Sir Muhammad b. 1893. Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Pakistan. Head of Pakistani Delegation to Second Session, U.N. General Assembly, and Chairman of Sub-Committee 2 of its Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine. Head of Delegation to Second Special Session. 6, 9, 225, 225n, 310; *CV* 69
Zakif, Gedalia, *see* Zuchovitsky (Zakif), Gedalia
Zaslani (Shiloah), Reuven b. 1909. Senior official, Jewish Agency Political Department. 25, 26–27, 46–47, 61, 61n, 114n, 143, 187, 187n, 227, 227n, 266–267, 349–350, 349n, 430–432, 451–454, 471, 497, 536, 536n, 666 edn, 674, 678n, 712–713, 713n, 721, 722n, 737, 778n, 782, 782n, 783; *CV* 5, 12, 18–19, 28, 32,

56–57, 64, 70, 87, 125, 134, 140, 145, 147, 156
Zinoviev Letter 755, 755n; *CV* 152
Zionist Congress, *see* Zionist Organization, Zionist Congress
Zionist General Council, *see* Zionist Organization, General Council
Zionist Organization 23, 266, 308, 428, 428n, 587; *CV* 102
General Council 382, 382n, 460, 481, 553, 553n, 573, 586, 594, 675, 675n, 743, 743n, 747; *CV* 37, 119, 122, 138, 151
Zionist Congress 266, 318
In Australia 3 edn; *CV* 37
In Belgium 419
In Bulgaria 329–331
In Czechoslovakia 75n, 76–78; *CV* 6–7
In Great Britain 203–204, 781
In Italy 158
In New Zealand 3edn; *CV* 37
In South Africa 3edn, 15; *CV* 37
Zionist Organization — Continued
In U.S.A. 190–192, 248, 288, 326n, 342, 365, 427, 768, 769, 775
Zoppi, Count Vittorio b. 1898. Director-General, Political Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Italy. 158–159
Zuchovitsky (Zakif), Gedalia b. 1906. Haganah representative in Europe. 443, 443n; *CV* 104
Zuckerman, Baruch b. 1887. President, Labour Zionist Organization of America—Poalei Zion. Member, Presidium, Zionist General Council. Member, Jewish Agency Political Advisory Committee, Lake Success, April-May 1948. 726n, 747n; *CV* 148
Zuloaga, Pedro b. 1898. Permanent Alternate Representative of Venezuela at U.N. 555, 555n; *CV* 119–120